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Selections.

The Cause and Cure of our National Troubles.

SPEECH

OF

HON. GEORGE W. JULIAN,

OF INDIANA,

Delivered in the House of Representatives, Jan. 14, 1862.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Every thinking man naturally surveys the field of politics from his own peculiar standpoint, and reaches his conclusions by the help of his own methods of thought. Considerable diversities of judgment are therefore inevitable, even among the disciples of the same faith, while uniformity of opinion, however desirable in matters essential, is of far less consequence than perfect freedom of thought. The discovery and practical acceptance of the Truth should be our grand aim; and all harmony among men, secured by the sacrifice of this aim, is at once the sure prophecy and natural parent of discord. Since free thought and its free utterance must be the condition precedent of all progress, it may be safe to affirm that he is a better soldier in the army of reform who conscientiously battles even for false principles, than he who meanly accommodates himself to that which has numbers on its side, through a cowardly fear of dissent and division.

I propose, sir, somewhat in the spirit of these observations, to speak of the war in which our country is involved. In the name of a constitutency of freemen, I shall say what I believe ought to be said, in the present stage of our national troubles; and I shall do so without favor or fear. This is a war of ideas, not less than armies, and no servant of the republic should march with muffled drums against the foe. So far as my own personal or political fortunes are concerned, I shall take no thought for the morrow. This is no time for any public man to confer with flesh and blood. The fabric of free government, reared by our fathers, is in flames. In the opinion of many, the great model republic of the world is in the throes and spasms of death. This is one of the grand judgment-days of history, and whoever believes in the government of the world by a Providence will interpret this tremendous conflict as the voice of Jehovah, calling the nation to account for its sins, and teaching us, through the terrible lesson of civil war, that "the unjust thing shall not prosper." Sir, in a crisis so transcendently appalling as the present, so grandly solemnized by tokens of national retribution, the deepest moral convictions of every man should find a voice, and nothing should be more coveted than perfect self-renunciation and singleness of purpose in the endeavor to save the life of the government and the liberty of the people.

Mr. Chairman, the *cause* of this gigantic conspiracy against the Constitution and laws is the topic which meets us at the very threshold of any intelligent thought or action on our part. What produced this infernal attempt upon the nation's life? What is it that has called into deadly conflict from the walks of peace more than a million of men, brethren and kindred, and the joint heirs of a common heritage of liberty? What power is it that has run through the entire gamut of ordinary villanies, and at last turned national assassin? These questions demand an answer. Shall we postpone it, as some of our loyal men advise us, till peace shall be restored, and the Union reëstablished? Sir, this would be to affront common sense, and surrender our mightiest weapons to the rebels. The solemn issue of national life or death must be disposed of upon its merits, and we should bring ourselves face to face with it, and with every question fairly connecting itself with the great controversy. If we expect the favor of God, we must lay hold of the *conscience* of our quarrel, instead of keeping it out of sight. The revolutionary struggle of our fathers was preceded by the most exhaustive discussion of the causes which produced it, and which "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" required them "to declare." They based their justification before the world upon great primal truths, which they declared to be self-evident, and they appealed to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions. Thus only could they have conquered. There was no vital question which they sought to ignore or postpone. So should it be with us to-day. Stern work has to be done, and our appeal must be to the enlightened judgment and roused moral sense of the people. The cause and the cure of our troubles are inseparably connected. This rebellion is not a stupendous accident. It is not an eccentric growth, disowning the ordinary law of cause and effect; and we must not "cut the thread of history from behind it," either to accommodate traitors or timid loyal men. It has not burst into life without any known parentage, but it is the legitimate child of the foul ancestry from which it has sprung. It has a discoverable genesis, and the time has come to explore it.

It is argued, in very respectable quarters, that the slavery question has nothing to do with our present troubles. This rebellion, we are told, is the crowning fruit of the heresy of State Rights, as expounded by some of the leading stateamen of our country, and the issue involved, therefore, is simply the old one between the Federal and Democratic parties. Sir, I hope we shall not be misled by this fallacy. I trust our detestation of this rebellion, and of the dogma on which it assumes to be based, will not drive us into a false position. I think there are such things as State rights, notwithstanding the efforts of rebels to make them a cloak for treason. I believe there is such a principle as State sovereignty, recognized, while limited, by the Federal Constitution itself. On this question I subscribe, in the main, to the teachings of James Madison, and with him I decline the consequences which slaveholding nullifiers have sought to deduce from his constitutional opinions. And, heartily as I condemn and denounce the dogma of secession, I believe it to be no more pernicious than that other heresy which has steadily aimed to swallow up the States, and all the departments of the government, in the vortex of one centralized Federal power. Sir, no warnings of inspired or uninspired man were ever more completely justified by time than the warnings of Thomas Jefferson against Federal usurpation; and the principles declared in the case of Dred Scott, if practically recognized and accepted, would as perfectly accomplish the overthrow of the government of our fathers as it would be possible to do by the most extravagant theory of the right of individual States to secede from the Union.

It was not jealousy of the Federal power that prompted the cotton States to secede, but their inability longer to rule the National government in the interest of slavery. It was not jealousy of the aggressions of the State governments that gave birth to the Dred Scott decision, but the influence of that same Slave Power, sitting like a throned monarch on the supreme bench, in perverting the powers of the government. Whether the Constitution has been made to dip towards centralization or State rights, the disturbing element has uniformly been slavery. This is the unclean spirit that from the beginning has needed exorcism. Without it there were not defects enough in the system of government which our fathers left us to endanger its success, or seriously to disturb its equilibrium. To charge this rebellion upon secession, and not slavery, is like charging the domination of slavery itself upon the invention of the cotton-gin. Without the previous existence of slavery in the Southern States, cotton would not have been king. Instead of one all-engrossing pursuit, there would have been a healthy variety of enterprises, multiplied objects of interest, all conducted by educated labor, and stimulated by remuneration and the influence of competition. Slavery founded the kingdom of cotton, and secured its present ascendency under the motive power of fresh lands and new labor-saving machinery, which it employed as the *occasion* for putting forth new life; and slavery is now seeking to found an empire of rebel sovereignties, in the name of State rights, which it uses as the convenient instrument of its purpose.

Mr. Chairman, when I say that this rebellion has its source and life in slavery, I only repeat a simple truism. No fact is better understood throughout the country, both by loyal and disloyal men. It is accepted by the people as if it were an intuition. And the germ of our troubles, it must be confessed, is in the Constitution itself. These may seem ungracious words, and will certainly win no applause; but it is best to face the truth, however unwelcome, and, if possible, profit by its lesson. I think it was Granville Sharpe who said that "God, in founding the universe, made it certain that every bargain with the devil should weaken the man who makes it." Sir, had our fathers, in the beginning, seen this truth in the light of the terrible facts which bear witness to it to-day, this horrid legacy of civil war would not have been entailed upon their children. On this subject I am not without very high authority, and I prefer to quote it:

"In the Articles of Confederation there was no guarantee for the property of the slaveholder; no double representation of him in the Federal councils; no power of taxation; no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves. But when the powers of *government* came to be delegated to the Union, the South—that is, South Carolina and Georgia—refused their subscription to the parchment till it should be saturated with the infection of slavery, which no fumigation could purify, no quarantine could extinguish. The freemen of the North gave way, and the deadly venom of slavery was infused into the Constitution of freedom."

So said John Quincy Adams, and he pronounced the bargain thus made by our fathers "morally and politically vicious." This bargain is the fountain of all our disasters. South Carolina and Georgia loved slavery better than they loved the Union, and hence our union with them has proved ill-matched, unnatural and calamitous. The Constitution received its life in concessions which slavery *demanded* as conditions of union, and slavery, from that moment, has assumed to deal with the Constitution as its master. The rebels, to-day in arms against the government, are the fit representatives of the rebels whom our fathers sought in vain to make loyal by concessions in the beginning.

I do not say that the founders of our government are to be judged in the light of the terrible evils which have been the offspring of their mistake. We must view their action from their own point of vision, taking into account their known opinions, wishes and expectations. They regarded slavery with abhorrence. They would not allow the word slave, slavery, or even servitude, to be named in the Constitution. They believed the evil to be in the course of speedy decay and death. They forbid its introduction into all territory under national control. They took measures to cut off the foreign supply, the great artery of its life. Private emancipations were rapidly going on in all the States, under the influence of the Declaration of Independence, and the struggle for their own liberty. The concessions which they made, so emphatically condemned by Mr. Adams, must be interpreted by these facts of history, which must ever vindicate their good intentions, and separate them from the compromisers of a later day. They thought they were simply yielding to slavery a transient sufferance, a brief hospitality, so that it might die and pass away "decently and in order"; and they did not dream that the evil thus abetted would treacherously demand perpetuity, and bid freedom to serve at its black altar. It is not possible to believe that their bargain with slavery would ever have been made, had they foreseen the curses it has entailed upon the nation. Perfidiously laying hold of concessions generously made in its favor in the beginning, and too liberally repeated afterwards, and unwilling at length to share even a divided empire with freedom, to whom it has turned a deaf ear and an averted face, it has systematically trampled the Constitution under its feet in its ruthless march towards absolute dominion over these States. The first fatal concession to this rebel power prepared the way for a second, and the history of its relations to the government is a history of persistent but unavailing endeavors to placate its spirit, and make it possible for the nation to live with it in peace.

We gave it three large States, carved out of the Territory of Louisiana. The purchase of Florida was in obedience to its demands, and so was the prosecution of the Seminole and Florida wars. We assisted in expelling the red man from seven or eight States of the South, and forcing him into slavery, at the cost of many millions to the government, so that the white man could enter with his peculiar institution, where otherwise it was forbidden. In order to "save the Union" and propitiate men who subordinated it to negro-slavery, we abandoned the early policy of the fathers in 1820. In the same spirit, we consented to add an empire to slavery in the South-west, in the annexation of Texas. We united in the prosecution of the Mexican war, well knowing that the extension of slavery was its object. Under the threat of disunion in 1850, we abandoned the Wilmot Proviso, and entered into a covenant that the Territories of Utah and New Mexico should be received into the Union, with or without slavery as their people might determine; thus tempting the South to apply this principle, which was done in 1854, to the territory saved by the Missouri restriction; and, by way of good measure, we furnished our rebel brethren with a Fugitive Slave act, which they had not seriously demanded as a condition of their loyalty. The Missouri Compromise, made to pacify slavery, was overthrown at its bidding, by the help of Northern votes, while the Dred Scott decision was the work, in part, of Northern judges. Our hatred of the negro has cropped out in black codes in the free States which rival in villany the worst features of the slave laws of the South. We have allowed slavery to expurgate our literature and mutilate the school books of our children, while even the grand instrumentalities of the Church—its tract and Bible and missionary and Sunday school associations—have submitted to its unhallowed surveillance. We have consented to the suspension of the Constitution in the free States, through the Fugitive Slave act of 1850, so far as the rights of trial by jury and *habeas corpus* are concerned; and in the slave States, so far as the rights of locomotion and free speech relate to our own citizens, whom we meekly permit to be driven out by mobs, tarred and feathered, or hung like criminals, without cause. We have permitted both Houses of Congress, the Executive and Judicial departments of the government, the army and navy, and our foreign diplomacy, to be controlled by this rebel interest, with the power all the while in our own hands to have done otherwise. Sir, it has ruled the republic from the beginning. To pet and please it seems to have been the work of our lives, and upon its rebel altar our public men, through long years of devil-worship, have offered their sacrifices.

Nor has the Republican party, Mr. Chairman, been wanting in tokens of forbearance toward the slave interest. While emphatically avowing an anti-slavery policy, to a certain extent, it has been still more emphatic in *disavowing* any purpose to go beyond its self-imposed limits. Nothing could exceed the persistency, emphasis and fervor, with which its editors, orators and leaders, have disowned the intention to interfere with slavery in the States of the South. They have protested, perpetually, and with uplifted hands, against "abolitionism," as if slavery had the stamp of divinity upon its brow. Denials, disclaimers, deprecations, virtual apologies to slavery, have been the order of the day with very many of our leaders; and so perfectly have we understood the art of prophesying smooth things, that multitudes have joined our organization, less through its known anti-slavery purpose, than the disavowal of any such purpose by those who have assumed to speak in its name. Great forbearance, moderation, and a studious deference to the constitutional rights of slavery, have uniformly marked the policy of the Republican party, and would have prevented this rebellion, had it been possible through the spirit of conciliation. Its chosen President is a cool, cautious politician, of conservative antecedents and most kindly disposition. No fact was better known to the leaders of this rebellion than that their constitutional rights were perfectly safe in his hands. He so assurred them, solemnly, in his inaugural address. He declared himself in favor of enforcing the Fugitive Slave act. He expressed his willingness to see the Constitution so amended as to tie up the hands of the people, forever, against the right to interfere with slavery in the States of the South; and this proposition to incorporate the Lecompton Constitution into the Constitution of the United States was adopted by both Houses of Congress, and submitted to them by the Peace Congress of last winter, inaugurated under Republican auspices, for the purpose of settling our national troubles without a resort to war. When all these friendly overtures were defiantly spurned by the rebels, the President still clung to the hope of rescuing them from their madness. He still thought it his duty to strive with them, through much forbearance, patient waiting, cautious diplomacy, and fatherly solicitude. So systematically did he seem to go down into the valley of humiliation, that some of his own party friends, yielding to their impatience, pronounced the first six weeks of his administration simply a continuation of the policy of his predecessor. Every conceivable expedient was resorted to, to preserve the public peace, and with such ingenuity and steadfastness did the Executive pursue his policy in this direction, that the rebels were at last obliged to fire upon Fort Sumter for no better reason than the sending of provisions to prevent our garrison from starvation, which he kindly assured them was the sole purpose of the expedition.

Sir, this rebellion is a bloody and frightful demonstration of the fact that slavery and freedom cannot dwell together in peace. The experiment has been tried, thoroughly, perseveringly, and with a patience which defied despair, and has culminated in civil war. We have pursued the spirit of conciliation to the very gates of death, and yet the "irrepressible conflict" is upon us, and must work out its needed lesson. I do not refer to our uniform forbearance towards slavery as a virtue. On the contrary, this has only maddened and emboldened its spirit, and hastened an event which was simply a question of time. We, in the free States, are not wholly guiltless, but I charge to the account of slavery that very timidity and lack of manhood in the North through which it has managed to rule the nation. It has prepared itself for its work of treason by feeding upon the virtue of our public men and demoralizing the spirit of our people. As an argument against slavery, this rebellion is absolutely overwhelming. Nothing could possibly add to its irresistible force. Other arguments, however convincing to men of reflection, have not thus far been able to rouse the mass of our people to any very earnest opposition to slavery upon principle; but this argument must prevail with every man who is not a rebel at heart. This black conspiracy against the life of the republic, which has armed half a million of men in its work of treason, piracy and murder—this magnificent spectacle of total depravity made easy in real life, is the crowning flower and fruit of our partnership with the "sum of all villanies." All the crimes and horrors of this struggle for national existence cry out against it, and demand its utter political damnation. In the fires of the revolution which it has kindled, it has painted its own character with a pencil dipped in hell. The lives sacrificed in the war it has waged, the agonies of the battle-field, the bodies and limbs mangled and maimed for life, the widows and orphans made to mourn, the moral ravages of war, the waste of property, the burning of bridges, the robbery of forts, arsenals, navy yards, and mints, the public sanction and practice of piracy, and the imminent peril to which the cause of free government throughout the world is subjected, all write their deep brand upon slavery as a Christless outlaw, and plead with us to smite it in the name of God.

Can I be mistaken, Mr. Chairman, in holding slavery to this fearful reckoning? If so, why has there been no rebellion in any non-slaveholding State? Why is it, that in the great centres of slavery treason is most rampant, while, as we recede into regions in which the slaves are few and scattered, as in Western Virginia, Delaware, and other border States, we find the people loyally disposed towards the Union? These facts admit of but one explanation. Kindred to them is the known character of the men who are conducting this rebellion. They tell us, as Vice-President Stephens has done, that slavery is to be the corner-stone of the Southern Confederacy. Its leaders and their associates denounce Jefferson as a sophist, and the Declaration of Independence as "Red-Republican doctrine." They speak of the laboring millions of the free States as the "mud-sills of society," as a "pauper banditti," as "greasy mechanics and filthy operatives." They declare that "slavery, black or white, is right and necessary"; and this doctrine has been advocated by the Southern pulpit, and by the leading newspapers of Charleston, Richmond and New Orleans. They believe, with Calhoun, that slavery is "the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world." They agree with Gov. Hammond, that "slavery supersedes the necessity of an order of nobility, and the other appendages of a hereditary system of government." They teach that "capital should own labor," and that "some men are born with saddles on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them by the grace of God." In the language of a distinguished rebel Senator, they "would spread the blessings of slavery, like the religion of our divine Master, to the uttermost ends of the earth." By these atrocious sentiments they are animated in their revolt against the government. Sir, does any man doubt that, should the rebels triumph over us, they will establish slavery in every free State? Was not the immediate cause of the revolt their inability to diffuse this curse under the Constitution? They do not disguise the fact that they are fighting for slavery. They tender us that special issue, and have staked the existence of their idol upon the success of their arms against us. If we meet them at all, we necessarily meet them on the issue they tender. If we fight at all, we must fight slavery as the grand rebel.

Do you tell me that the question involved in this war is simply one of government or no government? I admit it; but I say the *previous* question is slavery or freedom; or rather, it is the same question stated in different words. Slavery and treason, in this struggle, are identical. It is slavery which to-day has the government by the throat, and thus thrusts upon us the issue of its life or death. Do you say that the preservation of the Union must be kept in view as the grand purpose of the war on our part? I admit it; but I say that nothing but slavery has brought the Union into peril. Its whole career, as I have shown, has been a perpetual conspiracy against the Constitution, crowned at last by a deadly stab at its life. Am I told that this is a war for the life and liberty of a nation belonging chiefly to the white race, and not a war for the emancipation of black men? I frankly agree to it; but I insist that our national life and liberty can only be saved by giving freedom to all, and that all loyal men, therefore, should favor emancipation. Shall the nation be sacrificed rather than break the chains of the slave? Shall we madly attempt to carry on the war as if slavery had no existence? Shall we delude ourselves by mere phrases, and pretend ignorance of what everyone knows and feels to be veritable truth? Shall we prosecute this war on false pretences? Shall we even shrink from the discussion of slavery, or talk about it in circumlocutions, lest we give offence to rebels and their sympathizers?

I know it was not the purpose of this Administration, at first, to abolish slavery, but only to save the Union, and maintain the old order of things. Neither was it the purpose of our fathers, in the beginning of the Revolution, to insist on independence. Before the first battles were fought, a reconciliation could have been secured simply by removing the grievance which led to arms. But events soon prepared the people to demand absolute separation. Similar facts may tell the story of the present struggle. In its beginning, neither the Administration nor the people foresaw its magnitude, nor the extraordinary means it would employ in prosecuting its designs. The crisis has assumed new features as the war has progressed. The policy of emancipation has been born of the circumstances of the rebellion, which every hour more and more plead for it. "Time makes more converts than reason." I believe the popular demand now is, or soon will be, the total extirpation of slavery as the righteous purpose of the war, and the only means of a lasting peace. We should not agree, if it were proposed, to restore slavery to its ancient rights under the Constitution, and allow it a new cycle of rebellion and crime.

The rebels have demanded a "reconstruction" on the basis of slavery; let us give them a "reconstruction" on the basis of freedom. Let us convert the rebel States into conquered provinces, remanding them to the *status* of mere Territories, and governing them as such in our discretion. Under no circumstances should we consent to end this struggle on terms that would leave us where we began it. To conclude the war by restoring slavery to the constitutional rights it has forfeited by treason, would be as unreasonable as putting out the fire, and turning loose the incendiary with torch in hand. It would be like reinstating the devil in Paradise, to reënact his rebellion against the Most High. Sir, let us see to it, that out of this war shall come a permanent peace to these States. Let us demand "indemnity for the past, and security for the future." The mere suppression of the rebellion will be an empty mockery of our sufferings and sacrifices, if slavery shall be spared to canker the heart of the nation anew, and repeat its diabolical deeds. No, sir. The old dispensation is past. It served us as a schoolmaster, to bring us into a new and higher one, and we are now done with it forever. We determined, in 1860, that the domination of slavery should come to an end. The government had long been drifting into its vortex, but we resolved, at whatever cost, to rescue it. Had we been satisfied with the rule of slavery, as it existed prior to the rebellion, we might have had peace to-day. We might have agreed to the election of Breckinridge. We might have avoided war, even after the election of Mr. Lincoln, by calling into his Cabinet, the chief rebel conspirators, who would have been pacified by the spoils, while serving the behests of slavery. Having chosen a different course by the election of a man committed to a specific anti-slavery policy, and having undertaken to execute that policy against all opposition, we are now shut up to the single duty of crushing the rebellion at all hazards, and blasting, forever, the power that has called it into life.

Mr. Chairman, our *power* to destroy slavery now, I believe, is not questioned. The law of nations applicable to a state of war takes from this rebel power every constitutional refuge it could claim in a time of peace. The principle is thus declared by the illustrious statesman whose authority I have already quoted respecting another topic:

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that the military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of the slaves."

And again:

"From the instant that your slaveholding States become the theatre of war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of a State burdened with slavery to a foreign Power."

This, sir, is the grand weapon which the rebels have placed in our hands, and we should use it as a matter of clear and unhesitating duty. Not that the Constitution is so absolutely perfect, or so entirely sacred, that we can in no event disregard it. The nation is greater than the Constitution, because it made the Constitution. We had a country before we had a Constitution, and at all hazards we must save it. The Constitution was made for the people, not the people for the Constitution. Cases may arise in which patriotism itself may demand that we trample under our feet some of the most vital principles of the Constitution, and this has been done already by the present Administration, under the exigencies of the war.

"Man is more than constitutions; better rot beneath the sod,
Than be true to Church and State, while we are doubly false to God."

But so far as emancipation is concerned, constitutional difficulties, if any existed, are no longer in the way, since the Constitution itself recognizes the war power of the government, which the rebels have compelled us to employ against them. They have sown the wind, now let them reap the whirlwind. We have leave to do what the great body of the people have hitherto excused themselves from doing, on the ground of impassable constitutional barriers, and our failure to act will be as criminal as the blessings of universal freedom would be priceless. "Man's liberty is God's opportunity." Not for all the wealth or honors of the universe should we now withhold our suffrage from the proposition to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof." Never, perhaps, in the history of any nation has so grand an occasion presented itself for serving the interests of humanity and freedom. And our responsibility, commensurate with our power, cannot be evaded. As we are freed from all antecedent obligations, we should deal with this remorseless oligarchy as if we were now at the beginning of the nation's life, and about to lay the foundations of empire in these States for ages to come. Our failure to give freedom to four million of slaves would be a crime only to be measured by that of putting them in chains if they were free. If we could fully grasp this idea, our duty would become at once plain and imperative. We want not simply the military power to crush the rebellion, but the statesmanship that shall comprehend the crisis, and coin this "golden moment" into jewels of liberty and peace, for the future glory of the republic.

Slavery, as I have already shown, has been the evil genius of the government from its birth. It has frustrated the design of our fathers to form "a more perfect Union." It has made it impossible to "establish justice," or "to secure domestic tranquillity." It weakened "the common defence" by inviting foreign attack. It has opposed the "general welfare" by its merciless aristocracy in human flesh. It has denied us "the blessings of liberty," and given us its own innumerable curses instead. It has laid waste the fairest and most fertile half of the Republic, staying its progress in population, wealth, power, knowledge, civilization, the arts, and religion, thus heaping its burdens upon the whole nation, and costing us far more than the market value of all the millions in bonds. It has made the establishment of free schools and a general system of education impossible. It has branded labor as dishonorable and degrading. It has filled the ranks of infidelity, and brought religion itself into scorn, by bribing its professors to espouse its revolting iniquity. It has laid its wizard hand upon the mightiest statesmen and most royal intellects of the land, and harnessed them, like beasts of burden, in its loathsome service. It has denounced the Declaration of Independence as a political abomination, and dealt with our fathers as hypocrites, who affirmed its self-evident truths with a mental reservation, while appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of their intentions. While spreading licentiousness, concubinage, and crime where it rules, it has lifted up its rebel voice in the name of the United States, in pleading the cause of despotism in every part of the civilized world. And, as the fitting climax of its career of lawlessness, it has aimed its dagger at the government that has fostered and guarded its life, and borne with its evil deeds, for more than seventy years. Sir, this mighty rebel against all law, human and divine, is now within our grasp, and we should strangle it forever. "New occasions teach new duties," and we should employ every weapon which the laws of war place within our reach in scourging it out of life. Not to do so, I repeat, would be the most Heaven-daring recreancy to the grand trust which the circumstances of the hour have committed to our hands. God forbid that we should throw away this sublime occasion for serving His cause on earth, leaving our children to deplore our failure, as we to-day have to deplore the slighted opportunities of the past.

Mr. Chairman, I have not referred, directly, to the question of humanity involved in the policy of crushing slavery by the war power. That subject has been considerably discussed before the country, and I do not propose to enter upon it here, beyond the incidental bearings of my argument. I waive none of my humanitarian grounds of opposition to slavery, but I prefer to deal with the practical issues of the crisis. I am for putting down slavery as a "military necessity," and as the dictate of the highest statesmanship. The immediate question before the country is the suppression of the rebellion, and the common laws which govern a war between nations apply to the conduct of a civil war. These laws are thus laid down by Vattel:

"Since the object of a just war is to repress injustice and violence, and forcibly to compel him who is deaf to the voice of justice, we have a right to put in practice against the enemy every measure that is necessary in order to weaken him, and disable him from resisting us and supporting his injustice; and we may choose such methods as are most efficacious, and best calculated to attain the end in view, provided they be not of an odious kind, nor unjustifiable in themselves, and prohibited by the law of nature."

Sir, I insist upon the application of this well-recognized principle of public law. That the overthrow of slavery "is necessary in order to weaken" the enemy, "and disable him from resisting us and supporting his injustice," will not be disputed. That it would be a measure "most efficacious and best calculated to attain the end in view," is equally clear. Nor would it be "odious" to restore four million of slaves to their natural rights, or "unjustifiable" in itself, or "prohibited by the law of nature." The friends of the Union need ask nothing more than the just application of the law of nations, and they certainly should be content with nothing less.

A right to subdue the rebels carries with it a right to employ the means of doing it, and of doing it effectively, and with the least possible cost. If slavery had not been made a party question, and trained us to yield an unnatural deference to its assumptions, we should have laid violent hands upon it at once. The thought of tenderly sparing it would not have occurred to any loyal man. As the most vulnerable point of the rebels, we should naturally have aimed at it our first and hardest blows; and I insist that we shall so far forget our party prejudices, and the dread of "abolitionism," as to do what the dictates of common sense and a regard for our own safety so clearly demand. Facts, bloody and terrific, are every day proving that slavery, or the republic, must perish. As the animating principle of the rebellion, it stands between us and the Union, and we are compelled to smite it. To strike at it is to strike at treason; and to favor it in any way, however unwittingly, is to take sides with the rebels. They cherish it as the most precious of all earthly blessings. They love it with all the force of a long-fostered community of feeling; and the assertion is well attested, that the loss of a slave by Northern agency excites more sudden and wide-spread indignation than would the murder of his master.

Mr. Chairman, I need make no argument to prove that slavery is an element of positive strength to the rebels, unless we employ it in furthering our own cause. The slaves till the ground, and supply the rebel army with provisions. Those not fit to bear arms oversee the plantations. Multitudes can be spared for the army, since women overseers are as capable and trustworthy as men. Of the entire slave population of the South, according to the estimates of our last census returns, one million are males, capable of bearing arms. They cannot be neutral. As laborers, if not as soldiers, they will be the allies of the rebels, or of the Union. Count all the slaves on the side of treason, and we are eighteen million against twelve million. Count them on the loyal side, and we are twenty-two million against eight. How shall this black power be wielded? A gentleman, occupying a very high official position, has said that it would be a disgrace to the people of the free States to call on four million of blacks to aid in putting down eight million of whites. Shall we then freely give the rebellion four million of allies, at the certain cost to us of many millions of money and many thousands of lives? And, if so, may we not as well reënforce the rebels with such portion of our own armies as will make the contest equal in numbers, and thus save our cause from "disgrace?" Is the conduct of this war to be the only subject which requires men to discard reason and forget humanity?

The rebels use their slaves in building fortifications; shall we not invite them to our lines, and employ them in the same business? The rebels employ them in raising the provisions, without which their armies must perish; shall we not entice them to join our standard, and thus compel the enemy to reënforce the plantation by weakening the army? The rebels employ them as cooks, nurses, teamsters, and scouts; shall we decline such services in order to spare slavery? The rebels organize regiments of black men, who shoot down our loyal white soldiers; shall we sacrifice our sons and brothers for the sake of slavery, refusing to put black men against black men, when the highest interests of both white and black plead for it? In the battles of the Revolution, and in the war of 1812, slaves and free men of color fought with a valor unexcelled by white men. Are we afraid that a like honor to the colored man would be repeated, and thus testify against his enslavement? I do not say that any general policy of arming the slaves should be avowed; but that in some capacity, military or civil, according to the circumstances of each particular case, they should be used in the necessary and appropriate work of weakening the power of their owners. Under competent military commanders we may possibly be able to subdue the rebels without calling to our aid their slaves; but have we a right to reject it, at the expense of prolonging the war, and augmenting its calamities? Is it a small thing to sacrifice unnecessarily the lives of our young and middle-aged men, the flower of the land, and rive with sorrow the hearts of friends and kindred? Can we afford a dollar of money, or a drop of blood, to spare the satantic power that has hatched this rebellion into life, and is now the sole barrier to our peace?

Sir, when the history of this rebellion shall be written, its saddest pages will record the careful and studious tenderness of the Administration towards American slavery. I say this with the sincerest regret. I do not doubt the good intentions of the President, nor would I forget the trying circumstances in which he and his advisers have been placed. Upon them, to a very great extent, must the hopes of our country rest in this crisis. To sustain their policy, wherever I can honestly do so, as a Representative of the people, is my first duty; and my second is, frankly to point out its errors, whilst avoiding, if possible, the attitude of an antagonist. Instead of making slavery the special object of attack, as the weak point of the enemy, and the guilty cause of the war, the policy of the Administration has been that of perpetual deference to its claims. The government speaks of it with bated breath. It handles it with kid gloves. Very often has it spread its parental wing over it, as the object of its peculiar care. In dealing with the interests of rebels, it singles out as its pet and favorite, as the spared object of its love, the hideous monster that is at once the body, soul, and spirit of the movement we are endeavoring to subdue. While the rebels have trampled the Constitution under their feet, and pursued their purposes like Thugs and pirates, the government has lost no opportunity of declaring that the constitutional rights of slavery shall be protected by loyal men. The Secretary of State, in his instructions to Mr. Adams, of the 10th of April last, says:

"You will indulge in no expressions of harshness or disrespect, or even impatience, concerning the seceded States, their agents, or their people."

And he warns Mr. Adams to remember that these States are, and must ever continue to be, "equal and honored members of this Federal Union," and that their citizens "still are, and always must be, our kindred and countrymen." In his letter to Mr. Dayton, of April 22, he tells him that—

"The rights of the States, and the condition of every human being in them, will remain subject to exactly the same laws and forms of administration, whether the revolution shall succeed or whether it shall fail; their Constitutions and laws, customs, habits, and institutions, in either case, will remain the same."

In this he is followed by the President in his message of the 4th of July. In the letter just referred to, Mr. Seward even denies that any war exists between the loyal and disloyal States. Although in his letter to Mr. Clay, of May 6, he admits that the object of this rebellion is to create a nation built upon the principle that African slavery is a blessing, to be extended over the continent at whatever cost or sacrifice, yet in his letter to Mr. Corwin, of April 6, he says:

"The President does not expect that you will allude to the origin or causes of our domestic difficulties in your intercourse with the government of Mexico."

The Secretary of War has taken pains to say, with emphasis and reiteration, that—

"This is a war for the Union, for the preservation of all constitutional rights of States, and the citizens of all the States of the Union."

I believe the Attorney General has been equally emphatic, and that he has even insisted upon the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave act in Missouri, without any reference to the rebellion. The Secretary of the Interior, in a public speech in August last, declared that—

"This is not a war upon the institution of slavery, but a war for the restoration of the Union and the protection of all citizens, in the South as well as in the North, in their constitutional rights."

And he affirmed that—

"There could not be found in South Carolina a man more anxious, religiously and scrupulously, to observe all the features of the Constitution relating to slavery than Abraham Lincoln."

Both Houses of Congress, in July, chimed in with this chorus of loyal voices on the side of the assumed constitutional rights of rebels, and our innocence of any hostile designs toward them; while the wretched legislative blunder known as the confiscation act is a fruit of the same fastidious and gingerly policy. No one, certainly, should condemn the government for defining its position truly and cautiously as to its purpose and policy respecting the rebellion; but these never-ending platitudes about our kind intentions, and the constitutional rights of the scoundrels who have abdicated the Constitution and ceased to have any rights under it, shows how fearfully the power of slavery continues to mesmerize the conscience and manhood of our public men.

To this strange deference to slavery must be referred the fact that such swarms of disloyal men have been retained in the several Departments of the government, and that the spirit and energy of the war have been paralyzed from the beginning. To the same cause must we attribute the recent proclamations of General Sherman and General Dix, and the humiliating services of our armies in the capture and return of fugitive slaves. Again and again have our commanders engaged in this execrable business, in disregard of the Constitution, and in defiance of all precedent. In numerous instances fugitives have been delivered to rebel masters—an offence compounded of piracy and treason, which should have been punished with death. Our soldiers have not only been compelled to take upon them the duties specially and exclusively belonging to the officers of law, provided by the Fugitive act of 1850, but have been required to return fugitives when they had not passed out of the State in which they belonged, and where, of course, the law itself would furnish no remedy. Sir, our treatment of these fugitives has not only been disgraceful, but infamous. For the rebels, the Constitution has ceased to exist; but were it otherwise, it is neither the right nor the duty of our army to return their slaves. The Constitution deals with them as persons, and knows them only as loyal or disloyal. If they are disloyal, they are simply belligerents, and if found among us should no more be allowed to return than other rebels. If as loyal men they come to our lines, tendering us their aid, our commanders who return them to their rebel claimants should be summarily crowned with the honors of the gallows. I cannot now go into the history of the numerous cases in which officers of our army have driven from our lines, or restored to their claimants, the slaves who have come within our jurisdiction, and whose information, had it been accepted, would have averted some of the bloodiest tragedies of the war; but I trust some painstaking gentleman will undertake this task, and perform it honestly and thoroughly, however damning the record may be to the parties concerned.

The conduct of the Administration towards General Fremont forms a kindred topic of criticism. When he proclaimed freedom to the slaves of rebels in Missouri, it was greeted with almost universal joy throughout the free States. The popular instinct at once recognized it as a blow struck at the heart of the rebellion. The order that rebels should be shot did not carry with it half the significance of this proclamation of freedom to their slaves. But the President at once modified it, so far as its anti-slavery features went beyond the confiscation act of July. He had no objection to the shooting of rebels, though it was as unwarranted by the act of Congress as the emancipation of their slaves. Their slave *property* must be held as more sacred than any other property; more sacred than their lives; more sacred even than the life of the Republic. Could any policy be more utterly suicidal? Slavery burns our bridges; poisons our wells; destroys the lives of our people; fires our hospitals; murders our wounded soldiers; lays waste the country; turns pirate on the sea; confiscates our property of every description; arms with butcher's-knives and tomahawks the savages of the Southwest as its allies; deals with *our* institutions with remorseless fury; and, in short, inundates the land with the villanies and crimes born of its devilish rule over these States; but when General Fremont declares that the slaves of rebels in arms against us within his military jurisdiction shall be free, the President—no doubt with the best of motives, but as if determined to give all the aid in his power to the rebellion—countermands the proclamation. He says he does this "most cheerfully."

The rebels may be shot, but while they keep up the fight against us their slaves shall supply them with provisions, without which their armies must perish and the lives of loyal men might be spared. The confiscation act bribes all the slaves of the South to murder our people, and the President refuses to allow the war power to go beyond it. The effect is, that if the slaves engage in the war at all, they must do so as our enemies, while, if they remain at home on their plantations, in the business of feeding the rebel army, they will have the protection both of the loyal and confederate governments. Sir, is not this a practical espousal of the rebellion by the Administration? When both parties to this struggle agree in subordinating the Union to slavery, is it not time for the people to speak? When the country is pouring out its treasure in streams that threaten it with financial ruin, and periling the lives of hundreds of thousands of our picked men to save the Republic, can we endure a policy so fatal to our success and so merciless in its results? It is known that General Fremont's proclamation was modified to accomodate the loyal slaveholders of Kentucky; but what right, I ask, had the loyal men of that State to complain if the disloyal men of Missouri forfeited their slaves by treason? If pretended loyal men in Kentucky or

army, led by some of the ablest commanders in the world, and nerved for bloody deeds by all the power of desperation.

Sir, in such a contest we can spare no possible advantage. We want no war "conducted on peace principles." Every weapon within our reach must be grasped. Every arrow in our quiver must be sped towards the heart of a rebel. Every obstacle in the path of our conquering hosts must be trodden down. War means ruin, destruction, death—and loyal slaveholders, and loyal non-slaveholders must stand out of the way, in this tremendous encounter with the assassins of liberty and free government. All tenderness toward such a foe is treason to our cause, murder to our people, faithlessness to the grandest and holiest trust ever committed to a free people. The policy for which I plead, sooner or later, must be adopted, if the rebels are to be mastered, and every delay puts in peril the precious interests for which we fight. Let us act at once, putting forth all our power. Let the war be made just as terrific to the rebels as possible, consistently with the laws of war. This will be at once a work of mercy, and the surest means of our triumph. Let us not mock the Almighty by waiting till we are forced by needless calamities to do what should be done at once, as the dictate alike of humanity and policy; for it may happen, when this rebellion shall have hung crape on one hundred thousand doors in the free States, that a ruined country will taunt us with victory which might have been ours, and leave us only the poor consolation of bitter and unavailing regrets.

Mr. Chairman, the sweeping policy I would have the government adopt towards slavery, will be objected to on the ground of its injustice towards the loyal slaveholders of the South. To this objection I have several replies to make.

In the first place, I would pay to every loyal slave claimant, on due proof of loyalty, the fairly assessed value of his slaves. I would not do this as *compensation*, for no man should receive pay for robbing another of his earnings, and plundering him of his humanity; but as a means of facilitating a settlement of our troubles, and securing a lasting peace, I would tax the public Treasury to this extent. From the beginning, slavery has been an immense pecuniary burden, and we can well afford to pay the amount which this policy would impose for the sake of getting rid of that burden forever.

In the next place, I reply that the total extirpation of slavery will be our only security against future trouble and discord. By any sacrifice, and by all possible means, should we now guard against a repetition of the scenes through which we have been called to pass. If we will heed the lesson of experience, we cannot go astray. Our fathers were very sure they had opened a vein that would speedily bleed slavery to death; but this rebellion is the bloody witness of their mistake. Shall we not profit by the lesson? It may be that, if the slaves of rebels are set free, slavery itself will fall. I do not believe it. The assertion has neither fact nor philosophy to sustain it. No man, at any rate, *knows* it to be true; and for this reason, having now the power, we should foreordain the blessed fact which else may never come to pass. We have no right, certainly, to expose the future glory and peace of our country even to remote hazard, if we hold in our hands the power to prevent it.

I reply further: that, while loyal slaveholders may dislike exceedingly to part with their slaves, and still more to give up their cherished institution, yet the hardship of their case is not peculiar. This rebellion is placing heavy burdens upon all loyal men. At whatever cost, and at all hazards, it must be put down. This is the principle on which we must act. Accordingly, the State which I, in part, represent, has not only done her full share in the way of means to carry on the war, but has placed in the field one-twentieth part of her entire population. She will be ready to make still further sacrifices when they shall be demanded. Neither our property nor the lives of our people will be counted too precious for an offering. If loyal slaveholders are as patriotic as loyal non-slaveholders, they will be equally ready to make sacrifices. Education and habit have wedded them to the system of slavery, which, for three quarters of a century, has been preying upon the nation's life, and at last has ripened into the fruitage of civil war. They cannot demand of the millions of non-slaveholders, North and South, that this evil element shall be continued. As loyal men they cannot ask us to sacrifice the greater to the lesser, but in order to save the ship of State, should agree that slavery shall be thrown into the sea.

I reply, finally, that if the war is to be conducted on the policy of fully accommodating the wishes of loyal slaveholders, that policy will be found impracticable, and therefore need not be attempted. Loyal slaveholders on this floor vote to give the rebels the benefit of the Fugitive Slave act of 1850 in recapturing their slaves. They vote also that our loyal soldiers shall volunteer as the slavehounds of rebels in the same villanous employment. Loyal slaveholders in both ends of this Capitol oppose the emancipation of the slaves of rebels, and publicly declare that such a measure would consolidate the people of the South as one man against the Union. They do not conceal the fact that they regard slavery as paramount to the Union. Sir, I shall most certainly refuse to go that length. On the contrary, the duty I learn from the position of these men, is that of demolishing every vestige of slavery in the land. Since I cannot possibly accommodate them, and must give offence, I prefer to divide with them on principle, and extricate my conscience and self-respect entirely from the thraldom of a false position. I do not stop to inquire how many will agree with me, because I am not willing "to put duty to a vote"; and while I am ready to support any measure giving freedom only to the slaves of rebels, I must not fail to stand by my own convictions, while leaving the wisdom or the folly of my position to be tried by the ordeal of time.

I must not conclude, Mr. Chairman, without noticing a further objection to the policy for which I contend. I refer to the alleged danger of this policy, and the disposition of the slaves after they shall be free. This objection, like the one just considered, invites several answers.

First, if I am right in dealing with the rebellion as the child of slavery, and in arguing that the salvation of the republic demands its overthrow, then my position is fully sustained. It will not do to talk about consequences, for no possible consequences of emancipation could be worse than destroying the government and subverting our free institutions. Do you ask me if I would "turn the slaves loose"? I reply, that this rebellion, threatening to desolate our land with the grandest assemblage of horrors ever witnessed on earth, is not the consequence of "turning the slaves loose," but of holding them in chains. Do you ask me what I would do with these liberated millions? I answer by asking what they will do with us if we insist on keeping them in bondage? Do you tell me that if the slaves are set free they will rise against their former masters, and pillage and lay waste the South? I answer, that all that, should it happen, would be far less deplorable than a struggle like this, involving the existence of a free nation of thirty million of people, and the hope of the civilized world. If, therefore, our policy is to be determined by the question of consequences, the argument is clearly on the side of universal freedom.

I reply, in the second place, that emancipation will be wise, safe, and profitable, to both master and slave. In this assertion I am sustained by all history and experience relating to the questions. Most triumphantly can I refer to the case of the British West Indies. There, by an act of legislation, nearly a million of slaves within those narrow islands, and greatly outnumbering the white population, were in an instant made free. No act of violence followed. No white man suffered in person or estate by reason of emancipation. In the Island of Jamaica thirty insurrections occurred in the century which preceded emancipation, but not one has occurred since. If experience has established any fact, it is, that violence and crime on the part of the negro race are not the concomitants of freedom, but the offspring of slavery, and that the chief difficulty in the way of emancipation has always been the unfitness of the master. The history of emancipation in the French dominions, in South America, in the Danish West Indies, in Mexico, and in the West India colonies of the Dutch, will furnish concurrent testimony with that of the British West Indies as to the safety and profitableness of emancipation. It has been followed by general prosperity, and in the English and Danish West Indies, especially, the slaves have become landholders, schools have been established, exports have increased, happiness has been promoted, and progress has become a law.

I answer, next, that if the slaves of the South are set free they will not be pent up within the confines of a few small islands, like those subjected to the great British experiment referred to. They occupy a country stretching between two oceans, vast portions of which are yet a wilderness. There is not only abundant room for them, but abundant need for their labor. They are not unfamiliar with industrial pursuits, and if compensated for their labor, and acted upon by the renovating power of kindness, they will not only take care of themselves, but become a mighty element of wealth in the latitudes of our country peculiarly suited to their constitution. Their local attachments are remarkable, and but for slavery they would not be found either in Canada or the Northern States. But I would give them freedom, and then leave them to the law of their condition. Let them work out their own destiny, and let them have fair play in fighting the battle of life. Colonization is one of the great tidal forces of modern civilization, and the enslaved races can scarcely escape the appeal it will make to their approving judgment. Hayti, near our shores, stretches forth her hands to welcome them to happy homes among a kindred people, where they can enjoy the blessing of equal rights. Remove slavery, and I believe the negro race among us will naturally gravitate towards a centre of its own, and separate itself from the race of its former oppressors. Our prejudices, borrowed from slavery, and still continuing to hold their sway, may aid this result; but if from any cause whatever these people should seek their welfare in other lands, I would, while leaving them perfectly free in this respect, encourage them by all the reasonable means in our power.

Lastly, to the assumed danger and impracticability of emancipation, I reply in the words of Dr. Channing:

"It is an impious error to suppose that injustice is a necessity under the government of the Most High. It is disloyalty to principle, treachery to virtue, to suppose that a righteous, generous work, conceived in a sense of duty, and carried on with deliberate forethought, can issue in misery, in ruin. To this want of faith in rectitude, society owes its woes; owes the licensed crimes and frauds of statesmen; the licensed frauds of trade; the continuance of slavery. Once let men put faith in rectitude—let them feel that justice is strength—that disinterestedness is a sun and a shield—that selfishness and crime are weak and miserable—and the face of the earth would be changed; the groans of ages would change."

This, sir, is the impregnable ground on which I stand. God has not closed up the paths of justice and mercy among men. He has not permitted a remediless evil. As I reject atheism, so do I believe it safe to restore to our enslaved millions the title-deeds of their freedom; safe to give them a fair day's wages for a fair day's work; safe to recognize their rights of marriage and the sacredness of the family; safe to allow them the untrammeled use of their powers of mind and body in the pursuit of their own highest good. And, I add, that the most deplorable sign of our times is the fact that the denial of all this is made the basis of our policy, and the test of our statesmanship. Very many of our public men practically disown the moral government of the world. Expediency is the law of their lives. They lack faith in the almightiness of truth and the profitableness of duty. With them diplomacy and crookedness seem to be innate qualities, and it sometimes unfortunately happens that men are found in high places of power and trust while scoffing at virtue and wallowing in corruption.

Sir, in this season of great national trial we can only hope for the smiles of our Maker, through the recognition of liberty, justice and humanity by those who wield the great and responsible powers of government.

"God give us MEN. A time like this demands
Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
Men whom the lust of office does not kill:
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy:
Men who possess opinion and a will;
Men who have honor—men who *will not lie*;
Men who can stand before a demagogue,
And damn his treacherous flatteries without winking:
Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
In public duty, and in private thinking.
For while the rabble, with their thumb-screw creeds,
Mingle in selfish strife, lo! freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land, and waiting justice sleeps."

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1862.

THE DANGERS OF VICTORY.

THESE dangers, from which the nation has been providentially free, in a great degree, since the beginning of the war, now seem to threaten us in earnest. Secretary Stanton has breathed life and energy into the military policy of the Administration, and the Generals in command feel the impulse and are putting their forces in motion. The victory at Mill Springs, if that be the authentic title of the battle, is followed up by the capture of Fort Henry. Gen. Sherman is believed to be moving upon Savannah, though it is hard to believe such a thing of him, and much is hoped of Gen. Burnside, now that he is fairly within the waters of Pamlico Sound. With the immense force now under arms, and disciplined by six months of drill and field exercise, the nation has a right to demand victories at the hands of the Generals to whom it has trusted such enormous materials of war, and so many precious lives of its bravest and dearest. If such victories cannot be had, as soon as action is physically possible, it must be because the Administration and its officers are not a match for the rebels. In which case, the interposition of the European Powers, however much it might incense us, could hardly be wondered at, and, certainly, could not be resisted. If we are proved not to be a match for the armies of Davis, under all the disadvantages under which they labor, we certainly could not expect to cope with the united forces of England, France and Spain. We must therefore take it for granted that the Administration sees no hope of reconciliation with the enemy, except at the price of a drubbing, and is now setting about giving him one in good earnest. The rebellion refuses to die a natural death, either of old age or of internal disease, so there is nothing for it but to try and knock it on the head if it can be done.

Supposing it to be done, what will be the consequences of the victory? That our troops, with the help of the navy, can get possession of Richmond, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans and Memphis, we believe, and have ever believed. This accomplished, in any ordinary case, the work would be over. The revolted territory being hemmed in on all sides, its chief cities occupied, and its communication with the rest of the world cut off, a surrender, or at least a capitulation, would follow as a matter of course. Whether this rebellion will form an exception to the general rule, we cannot yet say, but we do not believe it. All the fine talk of Messrs. Toombs, Cobb & Co. in Georgia about leaving a desert between themselves and their invaders, by laying waste the country and burning all human habitations, must be taken with many grains of allowance. We have no faith in the existence of any Union feeling to speak of in any of the revolted States, but we believe that even there the common instinct of self-preservation and of the preservation of property exists in full force. Were we, like Bonaparte in Russia, with hundreds of miles between us and our basis of operations, such self-devotion might be rational, if our destruction were a desirable result. But when we have the control of the sea-coast and unlimited supplies at our command, it is hardly likely that Charleston and Savannah will be made Moscows in miniature, merely for the effect of the thing—as their conflagration would have no particularly damaging effect upon us. To be sure, it is impossible to say what the half-childish folly of the rebel leaders may advise. We never did believe them capable of the folly of quarrelling with their nurse, the North, who had only spoiled them by indulgence. But we can hardly expect of them this excess of madness, and we believe the rank and file of the rebels, in their army and out of it, would interpose between such a plan and its carrying out. It would be only a prolongation of the struggle, as the ultimate result could not be doubtful, upon any of the ordinary hypotheses of human affairs. The interposition of the foreign Powers would then be used with the South, to persuade it to yield to its inevitable fate, and not with the North, to compel it to do, what it had already done, to open the ports of the Southern coast to their commerce, if they could find any. And Mr. Davis and his men must be made very differently from other men, if such arbitration were not gladly accepted.

Now, what would be the terms of such a negotiation? There is a good deal of talk in the newspapers about "hanging Jeff. Davis" as a fitting conclusion of the whole matter; but, as he will have the management and control of the whole matter, it is not likely that he will consent to such an arrangement, however proper in itself. A universal amnesty would be, of course, the very first condition of a return to the old state of things. The guaranteeing of their constitutional rights to the slaveholders would, equally of course, be the second. We should think ourselves lucky if we should get off without the restoration of all the contrabands that have sought our protection. We could not hope to escape without compensating their masters, loyal or not, to the uttermost farthing. We think Mr. Davis would be a fool to forgive us, excepting on condition that the Confederate debt should be funded along with our own, and his army paid in full, and we have never seen any reason yet to think him one. We cannot think that any generous and patriotic heart could hesitate to purchase the restoration of the Union by a compensation for all losses inflicted on our "misguided Southern brethren" during the war. Possibly nothing more material than these conditions may be demanded as those on which the rebel States will return to the bosom of the Union. No stipulation as to the indefinite extension of slave territory would be necessary, that unconstitutional restriction having been already virtually abandoned by the party of the Administration. Should this new Era of Good Feeling again bless the land, what might not be its result? The slaveholding States would, naturally, disdain to connect themselves with any of the Northern parties, all of which had been in league against them. In 1864, they would meet in Convention, and nominate Jefferson Davis as their candidate for Mr. Lincoln's successor. Who can doubt that enough Democrats and Bell and Everett men could be found to carry States enough to elect him? At any rate, we do not doubt it, for it would be the only way in which the Republicans could be ousted, and the paradise of office opened to the dwellers on the threshold. This would be a magnificent result for all the expenditure of blood and treasure we have made, with all the incidental consequences, but who can say that it is an impossible one? Mr. Lincoln's avowed and only policy is the restoration of the Union on its old basis, and such restoration cannot take place on any terms that would not make our supposition possible.

We trust that we shall not be suspected of treating serious things with levity in what we have said. We were never more serious in our life than when we say that such as these are the dangers that threaten us in case of victory. On the first show of willingness to return to allegiance we believe that the President would give the Davis government *carte blanche* as to terms. If victory is to be our lot, the only way to prevent its being the most disgraceful of defeats in disguise, is for the North to see its danger and insist on its being effectually hindered. And this can only be done in one way, and that is by compelling the Administration, by the force of public sentiment in Congress and the nation, to refuse any terms that do not include Emancipation as a preliminary. Whatever the constitutional right of Emancipation under the War Power may be, we apprehend that there can be no doubt of the right of a nation to dictate the conditions on which it will pardon its rebels and receive them back to their former estate, even if it should be an organic change in their most cherished institutions. And should foreign powers intervene, the most effectual assistance they could give towards disentangling that knot would be to guarantee a loan to those States for the purpose of making Emancipation easier to them. We have had enough of the disgraces of defeat, let us not shut our eyes to the dangers of victory, which may prove more disgraceful and more disastrous yet.

MRS. MARTINEAU'S LETTER.

THE letter of Mrs. Martineau, which we print on the fourth page of this week's STANDARD, impresses us, as we have no doubt it will all our readers, with a feeling of unaffected sadness. The one person in all England who, we should have supposed, would, above all others, have understood the nature of the struggle now going on in this country, have given to the North her unrestrained sympathy, have judged fairly and candidly the trials to which we are subjected, have been the least influenced by an unreasoning and unreasonable popular clamor, was Mrs. Martineau. The letter before us compels us to come to the unwelcome and unpleasant conviction that a mind always remarkable for its love of truth and the keenness of its logical insight, has suffered itself now to be beclouded by national prejudice, and carried away by a desire to establish a foregone conclusion. If this be true of a person distinguished by the qualities of head and heart that belong to our correspondent, how can we count upon any sense of justice in the people of England?

Whether Mr. Seward's dispatch to Lord Lyons is mischievous and disgraceful, is not, we take it, the point at issue, nor is it one we care to discuss. It is what Mr. Seward, as Secretary of State, has done, and not his way of doing it, to which the American people have given their unqualified approval. The act was one of national reparation, unhesitatingly and courteously made; the arguments which went with it are simply questions for diplomatic correspondence. That correspondence has, as yet, been but barely opened; the assumed wrong has been amply, promptly, and cheerfully atoned for. Where no insult was intended none is given, whether tried by the code of honor or of morals: and when the deed complained of is fully disavowed as an intentional wrong, and all the reparation possible is made, then surely all farther imputation of either injury or insult is to outrage common sense and all fair dealing. Such is now the relation of the two governments on the Trent affair. The whole spirit of Mrs. Martineau's letter is to impute to the American people a wrong they never intended, and to deny to them the benefit of both the explanation and reparation they have so frankly made. We had a right to expect something better at her hands. Disappointed in this—disappointed both in Mrs. Martineau and England—and assured, in place of the magnanimity and fair play we had a right to expect, that all disavowal of intentional insult is persistently and ingeniously disbelieved in, and that the only reparation a nation can make for the mistake of a single official is received with angry recriminations, the only possible conclusion left us is that the wrath—no matter what its original cause—which considerations neither of common sense nor common justice can appease, is determined to justify itself by creating the pretext it cannot find.

We dwell on this point. With shotted guns, and without shotted guns, England insisted upon the right of stopping American vessels, and took from them at different periods more than a thousand men; Englishmen who were seeking in this country an asylum—Americans, who stood upon planks that grew upon the soil where they were born. These are historical facts; and it is as vain to deny them as to deny that we were at war with England in 1812, that we were at war with her in 1779, and that, in September of that year, she committed the "barbarity" of sinking a stone-fleet in Savannah river. But the fact in regard to Mason and Slidell is, that they were, strictly speaking, never captured, in the offensive sense of that term, at all. "If one man," says Mrs. Martineau, "unexpectedly knocks another down, is he, when called to account, to accuse his victim of wanting to pick a quarrel?" There is, sometimes, nothing so unfair or deceptive as an illustration of this sort. There has been here nobody knocked down at all. There was, it is true, a collision committed by a servant, who intended no offence, and the man was, indeed, moved from his path and his temper. But what shall be said of the quarrelsome disposition of the assumed "victim," who declares that he was knocked down by the master when he came in contact with the servant, that the utmost injury and insult were intended, and that he shall certainly knock his presumed assailant down, in return, as soon as he can make a pretext? Such is the position of Mrs. Martineau and those who agree with her, for they persist in imputing to the government an act of a servant committed without their orders, and atoned for as soon as it was found to have been offensive.

But no shallower pretext for the quarrel that is to be fastened upon us could be hit upon than the tone of the American press. It rejoiced, even with jubilation, at the capture of two such mischievous culprits as Mason, author of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and Slidell, one of the most pestilent public knaves that ever disgraced the halls of legislation. It was hardly supposed possible that England would object, on behalf of two such persons, to the application of her own interpretation of national law, even on the tyrant's plea—frankly put forth by the London *Times*—that she maintained it when it suited her, but would not suffer it in others when it did not. But when England, who prides herself on "fair play," took advantage of our complicated difficulties, to "strike us when we were down," to hold out a helping hand to the slave-driving rebels, forgetting her theory and practice of more than half a century; and our government, true nevertheless to the theory and practice it has maintained at the expense of one war, yielded with dignity and grace to the demand made upon it, there was not a single dissenting voice among the thousands of newspapers of the United States. The "menaces" and "ravings" of the American press—if we except the intemperate language, some months earlier, of *The Herald*—a paper edited by a renegade Scotchman, but who owes no allegiance except to the devil himself—are the mere chimeras of a disordered imagination. Whatever we may feel at the insults which the English press has heaped upon us, in terms ingenious for their want of decency, we have been exceedingly careful to indulge in no recrimination. There is a point where the self-command of a true gentleman is immovable—when invective assumes a coarseness and vulgarity that makes reply uncalled-for. This has been the relation of the journalism of the two countries. Violent vituperation, on the one hand, has been met by very thoughtful silence, or if by a smile, a very sad one, on the other.

We have said already much more than we meant, for Mrs. Martineau's letter is one that hardly needs reply. But there is one point in it to which we wish to call emphatic attention. There are, at this moment, two parties in England—and Mrs. Martineau represents but one of them. The other she holds as one of England's "disgraces"; and denounces for its "shallowness." If we could have any misgivings that we had been misled in our judgment of the spirit of Mrs. Martineau's letter, she would entirely reassure us by the passage we refer to. The "peace party" she speaks of means, *not* war with America; the "disgrace" she complains of is a calm self-possession that will not permit itself to be carried away by the violence of party passion; the "shallowness" she derides is the large statesmanship of Bright, and Cobden, and Thompson, who believe that nothing will be gained to the cause of humanity by a single word of hope, a single act of encouragement, however slight, to a slaveholders' rebellion. Whether they have patience with the shortcomings, the delays, the imbecility of the Federal government or not, they have none with an insurrection of slave-drivers, whose purpose is to extend human bondage all over the continent. We believe in that "peace party"; we thankfully accept the words of cheer that Bright and Thompson hold out to us, and if, as Mrs. Martineau seems to believe, that let us do or say what we will, England will press us to the verge of war, and this government shall be compelled thereby to acknowledge the Southern Confederacy, we shall at least feel that there is a saving remnant of Englishmen left who would have averted, if they could, that disgraceful and dire calamity. Bright and Thompson, and all of that party, are free-traders as well as Mrs. Martineau, but they do not permit their enmity to the protective policy of this country to blind them to the importance of the suppression of this rebellion to the great cause of human freedom. However highly they may value the cause of free calicoes, free broadcloths, and free hardware, they still cherish, as far beyond the interests of Manchester and Sheffield, the hope that the problem of a free government for all men may yet be worked out on this continent.

THE NEW YORK STATE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THE Sixth New York State Anti-Slavery Convention assembled in Association Hall, in the city of Albany, Feb. 7, 1862.

The meeting was called to order by AARON M. POWELL, who remarked, that what Abolitionists have so long prophesied has come to pass, that if slavery were not abolished, it would at an early period abolish the Union which has so long been its protection. The Federal government requires a powerful army, the greatest ever known upon this continent, to retain possession of Washington, and the rebellion is still very much undisturbed in the real strongholds of its power.

Mr. POWELL moved the election of the following officers for the Convention, and they were appointed accordingly:

President—OLIVER JOHNSON, of New York.

Vice-Presidents—Rev. BERIAH GREEN, Oneida County, LYDIA MOTT, Albany, JOSEPH W. PECKHAM, Washington County.

Secretaries—GEORGE L. BROCKETT, LIZZIE M. POWELL.

Business Committee—WM. LLOYD GARRISON, PARKER PILLSBURY, PHEBE H. JONES, Mrs. E. G. PECKHAM, A. M. POWELL.

Finance Committee—SUSAN B ANTHONY, ANNA RICE POWELL.

Dr. WILLIAM BOYD, who had been imprisoned in the jail in Washington, for assisting two alleged slaves towards the North, under a sentence of 16 years confinement, and who had been pardoned by the President, made a statement of the circumstances of his arrest and imprisonment.

Mr. GARRISON and Mr. POWELL each made a few remarks upon the same subject, and upon the preparation of business for the Convention.

Rev. BERIAH GREEN occupied the remainder of the forenoon with remarks which will be published hereafter.

Afternoon Session.

PARKER PILLSBURY addressed the Convention upon the relation of the anti-slavery reform to the rebellion and to the government. His remarks will be published hereafter.

The Rev. Mr. FULTON, of Albany, desired to defend the Church from some of Mr. P.'s remarks, saying that there are many Dr. Cheevers, who are doing all that they can in the present crisis, who are ready not only to talk for the slave, but to act for him. He should himself be glad to be a missionary among the slaves at Port Royal, to instruct them and assist them. He thought the Abolitionists should undertake this work, and he read some resolutions embodying his views of the subject.

Rev. BERIAH GREEN made remarks upon the moral principles involved in the questions before this nation in regard to slavery. We shall publish them hereafter.

Rev. A. L. PRYNE, member of the Assembly from Wayne County, made an animated speech, dissenting from some of Messrs. Pillsbury's and Green's views.

An interlocutory discussion followed, in which Mr. GREEN, Mr. PILLSBURY, and Mr. HUTCHINS, Senator from Orleans Co., participated.

Evening Session.

WENDELL PHILLIPS made the only speech of the evening. He spoke an hour and a half, enchaining the attention of a large and highly intelligent auditory to the very close. We abstain, at his own request, from reporting this speech in full, and no mere abstract could do the speaker justice.

Saturday—Morning Session.

Miss SUSAN B. ANTHONY read the following address, received from ELIZABETH CADY STANTON:

MRS. STANTON'S ADDRESS.

PEOPLE OF THE NORTH: In this hour of national peril have twenty million of free men nothing to do but to stand and watch to see what a few men at Washington will do?

I ask you, Northern men and women, who wait and wish and long for something to be done, what can be done, and who will do it?

Do you expect the President and his Cabinet, even though united, to mould the nation, and out of this discord bring forth harmony? And to do it, too, with such a mysterious silence, that we shall never know when or how the nation was born again?

Do you expect Gen. McClellan to lead six hundred thousand Northern freemen into the jaws of slavery—into the valley of death—while you declare they shall not slay, nor even touch, the hydra-headed monster that stands ready to devour them? Can he lead an army forward without the inspiration of some purpose? Must you not unseal his lips, unfetter all his powers, until his noble proclamations winnow our ranks of dastards and traitors; till he shall raise our standard so high, that none but those whose eyes have looked on the Star of Bethlehem can see and follow?

With four million slaves on our side, led by the God of Moses, what are three hundred thousand slaveholders, with their barbarian minions, backed up by allied England, France and Spain?

Millions of Northern men and women read the daily papers, and wish that on the Potomac there might be some grand move, never dreaming that the army and the government fall back on the people for principle and power, for conscience and courage, and are themselves anxiously waiting for them to decide what is to be done.

The grandest move that can be made, is for *us* to say, "SLAVERY MUST DIE!" From sea to sea, let there go forth one simultaneous shout for freedom. Proclaim a day of jubilee to the bondmen that dwell in our land.

You ask why they, at Washington, wait? They wait for us to speak. Our statesmen have, with thought and care, reviewed the ground, and clearly see there is no hope for us, but through one mighty gate, whose ponderous hinges they cannot turn alone. Aided by the Northern hosts, it would soon spring open wide, and usher our army into the temple of liberty, whose presiding goddess stands ready to crown the heroes who, in this holy crusade, have freely offered all that mankind holds most dear on the altar of their country's fame and glory.

Now is the time to speak. This nation must be electrified, until one purpose pulsates every heart. Let our bravest and our best, the distributors of divine influence, be omnipresent. Like tireless angels, let them gather up every sigh and groan, and hope and prayer for liberty; and with them, forge fresh thunderbolts to hurl against the bulwarks of slavery. Now is the time for holy men to call around them those who wait to hear; those who in anguish cry, "Watchman, what of the night?"

Let us declare to the earth, that this is a war for a high and holy principle, not for a slaveholding Union that cannot be restored, or a Constitution that was never sacred to one half the nation.

This is a war against barbarians, who know no law but that of might; against idolators, whose gods are cotton and slavery; against polygamists and adulterers, who have abrogated the marriage institution, sold men and women on the auction-block, and given their own daughters to the highest bidder.

Let us declare the *purpose* of this war—inscribe LIBERTY on our banners, and bid the people go forward—

"The crisis presses on us,
Face to face with us it stands."

To-day Humanity expects every man to do his duty. Let the blacksmith at his anvil, the farmer at his plough, the merchant at his desk, all strike the key-note of Liberty; for this is the grand chorus of freedom, chanted in the New World, by martyrs from every race and clime. It is a most significant fact that every nation that has ever fought for liberty on her own soil is now represented in our grand army.

From this hour let no General dare to send our soldiers on the base errands of slavery. It was not for such foul deeds our Northern freemen left their homes, poured out their hard-earned wealth, and welcomed toil and death.

With bleeding hearts our mothers never sent their sons to hunt brave men back into the hell of slavery.

If our commanders now at the helm know not how or where to guide the ship of State, let them retire below, until the waves subside, and summon to the deck the ablest of the crew, those who know where the dangers lie, and how to battle with the storm.

Let the indignant thunders of a nation's voice fall on our Pharaoh's ear, and bid him know that for the sacrifice of life and home, and wealth and ease, we are resolved that our flag shall wave from lake to gulf, from sea to sea; and that none but freemen shall rest beneath its stars. ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.

Seneca Falls, Feb. 5, 1862.

Dr. BOYD addressed the Convention upon the interference of slavery with the rights of the North.

Mr. HAGGERTY, a young Irish clergyman, who had left the Catholic for the Protestant Church, said that in making this change he soon found that he had got out of the frying-pan into the fire; for while in the Catholic Church the negro may approach the altar as near as the white man, in the Protestant Church he is excluded. He proceeded to describe the embarrassments under which he labored, in consequence of his unwillingness to shut out the subject of slavery from the pulpit. True religion is to be "first pure, then peaceable," and man should never be at peace to the shame of his own soul or the violation of his integrity to God.

Mr. GARRISON: We have had a singular spectacle presented to us this morning in the persons and the speeches of the two gentlemen who have addressed us. Both are Irishmen; both are Abolitionists in America—white blackbirds. If slavery did its deadly work only among the slave population it would be an overwhelming spectacle to witness the dehumanization of four million of the human race. But it does not stop there. It takes in the slaveholders, whose moral condition is more frightful than that of the slaves themselves. Masters just as kind by nature as we are, in consequence of slavery, demonized, and their passions are set on fire of hell. The moment you speak of slavery they are transformed in the temper of their minds, and are disposed to commit any atrocity. Then we come to the non-slaveholding whites of the South, who are cursed by the existence of slavery. The same influence extends over the North. The vileness of slavery has entered into the blood of the nation, and every family has been visited and corrupted by it. See how the hatred of the negro has tainted the life of the nation. The very term "nigger" indicates the depravity of the soul which indulges in the epithet. This Satanic hatred has trained us into a nation of blackguards. Thus the whole nation is overwhelmed with this terrible sin and curse, in every vein and artery of the body politic. The whole head is sick and the whole heart is faint. But the curse of slavery is not confined to the United States. The ocean is no barrier to its pestilential influences. Of the mass of American travellers abroad, for business or pleasure, 99 out of every 100 cross the ocean as slavery propagandists. Why, then, should we marvel that upon the other side of the Atlantic there is no more interest upon our side of the question? The result has been detrimental, and the sentiment of Europe has been debased under such an education. Thus our republican government is brought into contempt; we are made a by-word and a hiss; and the friends of freedom are disheartened by our bad example, while the tyrants of the old world are mightily strengthened. It is represented abroad that the legitimate fruit of democracy is slavery, and the idea is assiduously inculcated that if they should attempt the same thing in the Old World, the laborers there would be finally turned into slaves. Thus we are upholding despotism throughout the world by slavery among ourselves.

Nor is that all. I could traverse Ireland, hold meetings everywhere, and my most radical sentiments would be responded to by acclamation, by the people. But the moment Irishmen come over here, almost without exception, they are transformed in their spirit. They come here dependent, and they find here a pro-slavery element which requires them to spit upon this particular class of people, or there is no hope of employment and success. Thus they are so demoralized that perhaps we have not in this nation any class so bitterly prejudiced against the negro as the Irish.

You see, therefore, that slavery is a curse to mankind. Hundreds of millions of people suffer in its final expenditure of venom and wickedness. When, therefore, we labor for four million slaves and their posterity, we are engaged in the great work of redeeming the world.

Mr. GARRISON proceeded to offer the following resolutions:*

Whereas, within the past year, eleven of the slave States have treasonably seceded from the Union, and organized an independent Southern Confederacy, the original design of the conspirators being to seize the Capital and overturn the National government; and,

Whereas, their course has been marked by all that is perfidious, unprincipled, brutal, thievish and piratical in spirit, in the seizure of the national custom-houses, post-offices, mints, arsenals, forts and naval vessels within their limits, and by the confiscation of Northern property and dues to the amount of hundreds of millions of dollars, and by the capture and destruction of numerous ships on the high seas sailing under the American flag; and,

Whereas, every one of the remaining Slave States (Delaware excepted, because only nominally included in the category) is so full of treason as to require the presence of vast armies from the free States to force them into feigned loyalty to the Union, the withdrawal of which forces would instantly be the signal for them to join the Southern Confederacy, and raise the standard of revolt; and,

Whereas, the National government is endeavoring to suppress this formidable rebellion, as wholly unjustifiable on any valid ground of complaint or any rational theory of popular sovereignty, and as subversive of the integrity and peace of the republic; therefore,

Resolved, That this Convention regards the government as wholly in the right, and the secessionists wholly and atrociously in the wrong, on the issues presented; and declares, therefore, that all the accusations brought by the latter against the government, against the Republican party, and against the people of the North, of a purpose to treat them oppressively and unjustly, and to act a perfidious part towards them, are false, malicious and calumniatory, incapable of being sustained by a particle of evidence, and plainly manufactured to subserve their treasonable ends, and shield their trancendently villanous conduct from the execration of the civilized world.

Resolved, however, That, in thus exonerating the government and people of the North from the foul imputations so lavishly bestowed upon them by the rebellious South, this Convention does not mean to screen or extenuate the fearful guilt they have incurred, and are incurring, by their complicity with slavery, as shown in their opposition to the Anti-Slavery movement, their proscription of the uncompromising friends of universal freedom, their injustice to the free colored population among them, their apologies and pleas for those who are slaveholders, and their unwillingness to throw off the heavy responsibilities resting upon them, by repentance and reformation.

Resolved, That we still religiously hold, in view of its pro-slavery guaranties, that the Constitution of the United States, as accepted and administered from the time of its adoption to the hour of the withdrawal of the South, was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," containing within itself the elements out of which disunion, treason and civil war have as naturally and inevitably sprung as the harvest follows the sowing of the seed; so that, if the same wild and guilty experiment were tried a thousand times over, the same tragical results would follow, in the nature of things. Nevertheless,

Resolved, That (though it implies no special merit on the part of the people of the North) it is matter of devout thanksgiving that, in consequence of the high-handed, treasonable withdrawal from the Union of the Confederate States, and also of the imperative necessity, to preserve even the semblance of loyalty in Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri (the two last indeed having been recently voted into the Confederacy), that they should be invested by the armies of the North, "the covenant with death" is annulled, and "the agreement with hell" no longer stands; so that, for the first time since its formation, the government, whether by the decree of the President or by act of Congress, has now the constitutional right, which now becomes its solemn duty and glorious prerogative, under the war power, as necessary to the speedy suppression of the rebellion, the removal of its cause, and the preservation of the Union, to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Resolved, That (in the language of John Quincy Adams) "by the law of nations, military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the Commander of the Army, has power to *order the universal emancipation of the slaves*; that, from the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile or foreign, from that instant the war powers of Congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery, *in every way in which it can be interfered with*; and that, by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and national power takes the place of them." Therefore,

Resolved, That for Congress or the President to waive the exercise of this constitutional power is to invigorate the rebellion, give "aid and countenance" to the traitors, imperil the life of the government and the unity of the republic, criminally prolong a sanguinary strife at a fearful expenditure of blood and treasure, render victory hopeless, and ensure the speedy recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy by the governments of Europe; and thus to lose the sublimest opportunity in the history of the world for the achievement of a grand and beneficent work towards the oppressors and the oppressed alike, and for the establishment of a free republic upon the foundations of impartial liberty and eternal justice.

Resolved, That the worst enemies of the government are those here at the North, who, wearing the mask of loyalty in order that they may the more effectually subserve the designs of the Southern conspirators, are constantly menacing and bullying it with alleged divisions in the army and among the people, to its final overthrow, if it shall dare exercise its unquestionable right by the law of nations, and its undeniable right by the Constitution, under the war power, to abolish slavery as the most effective way, nay, the only method to ward off the impending calamities and put down the rebellion; and public indignation should flame against them, so that the soil should be too hot for them to stand upon it, except as objects of universal execration.

Resolved, That the attempt of these pseudo loyalists to place the Abolitionists of the North and the Secessionists of the South in the same category, is an exhibition of brazen effrontery and satanic malignity; being matched only by the assertion that God and Mammon, Christ and Belial, the servants of righteousness and the workers of iniquity are all equally to be abhorred and condemned.

Resolved, That while we appreciate, at its true value, the insulting and bullying tone of the London *Times*, and other venal and purchased English journals

emergency? It seems to me our duty is still to cry aloud and spare not; to arraign those who are yet guilty of complicity with slavery; to ask that slavery be abolished under the war power; not as a military necessity, for those words are not fit to be upon our lips. We are to demand, in this hour when the rebels themselves have voluntarily released us from all constitutional obligation to support slavery, to demand that they shall be taken at their word and that now slavery shall be annihilated, because it is a sin, the basis of discord, the fountain from which all our troubles of the past and of to-day have flowed.

Rev. A. T. Foss—When we abolish slavery as it pertains to the black man, we shall abolish slavery as it pertains to the white man, for God has bound us all in a bundle together. We are related to each other, like the members of the body; and not the smallest member can suffer but the others suffer with it. But it is said that when the war is over, the *status* of every man is to be the same as before it began. Such is the professed intention of President Lincoln and the leaders of the Republican party. But I do not believe any such thing. It is not for them to say. They are but the chessmen upon the board; another hand plays the game. I am in favor of the Union, because I see that the government are fighting against slavery, and they cannot help it. It matters not much to me what they intend. Jeff. Davis is fighting to establish slavery; and if we war against Jeff Davis, I think we shall hit slavery somewhere. Let President Lincoln break the heads of all the rebels, and I will preach the funeral sermon of all the slaveholders in the land. The European nations will not see the peace of the world disturbed, year after year, by a war in which there is no earnestness. They are willing we should put the rebellion down; but if, when the St. Lawrence river opens, this rebellion is not ended, England and France will step in and end it. And if they do interfere, slavery will stand no sort of a chance. So I do not believe we can get rid of the war without getting rid of slavery.

How have we carried on the war? Abraham Lincoln began his inaugural address by professing his loyalty to the Constitution; and he is afraid to prosecute the war with vigor lest it should injure the Constitution. So, whenever he wants to do anything, he has to stop and read awhile. Now suppose it were John Brown, of immortal fame, with the slaves all in arms, now in the mountains, instead of Jeff. Davis and his army, do you think the Constitution would Prevent President Lincoln from putting him down? But John Brown acted in the name of God and in favor of humanity, while Jeff. Davis acted in the name of the devil and in favor of slavery.

See how the course of events is daily driving the government into a better position. At first, President Lincoln only intended to protect the property of the government in those States, and to collect the revenue. Fort Sumter was battered down; and he asks for 75,000 men, a mighty army. The people were aroused. Even this money-making people rose up, left all, and went on to put this rebellion down. Then our soldiers were shot down in the streets of Baltimore, and new zeal invigorated the North. Already the weeds of mourning are gathering over our people; soon the whole land will be in sable; and will not the people by and by inquire what has occasioned this war? And will not the answer be, Slavery? And will they not demand the entire overthrow of that system? I think they will, and the government will be driven to it. They have not life enough to go there; but, thank God, a dead fish will swim when there is current enough to carry it. I only fear that we shall be five minutes too late. But let Abraham Lincoln make a proclamation that all who come into our lines, as friends, willing to take up arms, shall be allowed to take arms, and the war is ended, slavery is abolished, and we have a glorious future before us.

Mr. Andrews—If the slaves are so ready to join us, why do they not do so without waiting for a proclamation?

Mr. Foss—In the first place, the whole South is in arms; and, in the next place, they have no assurance that our whole army would not be turned against them.

The resolutions offered by Mr. Garrison this forenoon were read and adopted, *seriatim*.

The first resolution offered by Mr. Pillsbury was read.

Mr. Garrison considered the remark with reference to the return of fugitive slaves too broad.

Miss Anthony regarded the Administration as responsible for the frequent return of slaves by the military department.

Mr. Garrison—There are 3,000 to 5,000 of them within our lines; why are they not sent back

Mr. Pillsbury—Their masters have run away, and they are waiting for them to come back.

Mr. Garrison—That I do not believe. I think the day has gone by for returning slaves to rebel masters.

Mr. Pillsbury—If the war should fail to emancipate the slave, and compromises be made, I believe the Abolitionists will have more to answer for than any other class of people. We are certainly deceiving the people of this nation. There is no ground for affirming here that there is any intention to interfere with the condition of a single slave in this land. On the contrary, Mr. Seward himself, in his letter of instructions to Mr. Dayton at Paris, gave him the express assurance that, whether the revolution succeeds or fails, it is not to change the condition of a single human being in the nation. The pulpit may cry "peace"; the politicians are paid for crying "peace"; but can we believe that the heart of this nation is yet so regenerated that we can rightfully join in that cry? I, for one, cannot answer it to my conscience to permit these syren songs of peace, when I know that, if there be a God in heaven, there can be no peace to this land.

Mr. Garrison—I do not know what Mr. Pillsbury means by his reference to the cry of "peace." If he means that Abolitionists have been crying "peace," "peace," I should like to know who they are. I have heard no cry of "peace," "peace." I object to the resolution because I do not believe it to be true. As to Mr. Seward, it is not fair to quote those words, written in the incipient stage of the rebellion, as indicating his present position. Gen. Butler was told to take all that came, and keep them all, whether the masters were loyal or disloyal. Their wages are awarded to them, and the proceeds are saved. So with regard to the instructions to Gen. Sherman. He was to take all the slaves that came, and, if necessary, to arm them. He might have conquered Carolina in the course of a week if he had only exerted the power the government put in his hands.

Mr. Powell felt desirous that, while expressing our sympathy with the North in this struggle, the anti-slavery expression be still kept up against the present Administration; and that, therefore, these resolutions should be adopted, as well as those of Mr. Garrison.

Mr. Pillsbury explained that he had not intended to charge any one, uncharitably, with misleading the people. But here are the facts. The Constitution was never more omnipotent than to-day; and it is tenfold more wicked to execute it now that it is annulled. Dr. Howe says that we are lied to when we are told that these slaves are free, or that they are paid. On the contrary, they are suffering from want and privation. He says the government is the holder of these slaves. They are kept to work under the bayonet, instead of the lash, as heretofore. They are as much slaves as ever, and Abraham Lincoln is the great slaveholder of this great nation. Yet we are affirming to the people that 8,000 or 10,000 of these slaves are now free. It is our duty to give the alarm. I cannot sit here and allow this mistaken impression to go among the people without correcting it.

The resolutions offered by Mr. Pillsbury were then read and adopted, *seriatim*.

Evening Session.

Lizzie M. Powell read a brief address, which want of space compels us to postpone.

William Lloyd Garrison delivered a very able and impressive address, which was listened to with very deep interest. In accordance with his request we refrain from reporting it.

Parker Pillsbury made the concluding speech, which was very instructive, and in some parts exceedingly eloquent. We expect to publish it hereafter.

The Convention adjourned *sine die*.

The Sermon of Mr. Frothingham, entitled "Seeds and Shells," which we noticed last week, is sold by John Hopper, 110 Broadway, for 10 cents single copy, 3 copies for 25 cents.

NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH.

The Twenty-eighth Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary was held, as usual, in the Music Hall, Boston, on the evening of January 22d. The travelling was bad, and the state of the atmosphere such as to take elasticity out of the spirits of men. The condition of our unhappy country necessarily filled all reflecting minds with anxiety, if not with sadness. But, notwithstanding these drawbacks, the hall was very full of guests, and the friends of freedom greeted each other with sober cheerfulness, exhorting each other to faith in these hours of darkness, while the more hopeful spoke of the certain approach of morning. The State arms of Virginia, blazoned in bright colors, with the motto "*Sic Semper Tyrannis*," seemed to utter the same prophecy. Liberty, strong in immortal youth, was pictured there, trampling on a prostrate tyrant, and broken chains. Under it, stood Brackett's sublime bust of old John Brown, and the Germania band played, "*His soul is marching on!*"

We cannot call the occasion a joyful one; for no one who loves his country could be joyful in this her hour of extreme peril; but it was refreshing and strengthening to meet and take counsel together. All agreed that we ought not to lay aside our armor because troops of such a totally different character had taken the field. They will do whatever work God has appointed them to do, but they cannot do *our* work. If emancipation comes as a mere "necessity of war," it will come unsanctioned by any considerations of justice or humanity toward the victims of our oppression, and the strenuous exertion of moral influence in their behalf will still be greatly needed. The question anxiously asked of each other by all our guests was, "Do you think the war *will* produce emancipation?" The answers were various as the temperaments of individuals. Some had strong belief in a happy issue, many hoped, but the feelings of the greater part were best expressed by the inspired minstrel of freedom, our own Whittier:

> "We dare not share the negro's trust,
> Nor yet his hope deny;
> We only know that God is just,
> And every wrong shall die."

The Ship of State is out on a tempestuous sea, drifting through thick fog without captain or pilot. If we are dashed to pieces on the breakers, it will not be a worse fate than we have deserved; and there is comfort in the belief that, even in that case, Yankee energy would soon construct a strong and safe life-boat from the timbers of the wreck. God did not bring the Mayflower here for the comfort and aid of tyrants; of *that* we may be certain, happen what will.

Instead of striking against rocks, the Ship of State may "drift" into the spacious harbor of universal freedom. If the fog *should* roll away to reveal that sun-lighted vision to our longing eyes, how glorious it will seem, after the long and dreary storm!

Meanwhile, we who have so long been praying and working for the deliverance of the enslaved must be content to serve the Lord and wait. At every successive gathering, we miss from our side some tried and faithful friends, who have borne with us the burden and heat of the day. Since we last met, Francis Jackson has gone from us; a man honest and true, stronger in his moral courage than "an army with banners." And Nathan Winslow, whose large sympathizing heart and generous hand were always open to the claims of the oppressed, will be seen among us no more. And never again will our meetings be refreshed by the beautiful presence of Lucia Weston, sister of our highly gifted, energetic and persevering friend, Mrs. Chapman. Our ranks are indeed visibly and rapidly thinning. But our old friends are like the Sybil's books—the more that are lost, the greater the value of those that remain. Moreover, oppressors and their tools can find no cause for exultation over the departure of our old moral heroes, for where one passes away, ten new recruits start up to carry on the work they had begun. The designs of Providence never fail for want of laborers.

Among the most interesting of the agencies now employed for the redemption of the slave is Mr. Davis, one of the men called "contrabands," who has come among us from Fortress Monroe, and who addressed a few words to the audience on this occasion. It is interesting to hear this intelligent man tell of his earnest longing to read the Bible, of the difficulties he had to surmount in the accomplishment of that object, and of the peace and joy that filled his heart when he was able to spell out the words of Jesus. For years, the sad song of these poor "contrabands" has ascended to the God of the oppressed with its supplicating chorus, "Oh let my people go!" From lowly cabins and rude congregations of the ignorant, year after year, this cry of souls in thraldom has arisen in tones of plaintive music, and the world heard it not. Now, this "Song of the Contrabands" is for sale in the music-stores of Broadway and Washington street. The *nation* hears them now. Let us thank God, and renew our courage, in view of the wondrous changes that have come to pass in these days!

The financial results of our meeting much surpassed our expectations. The contributions were exceedingly liberal, considering the hard pressure of the times and the numerous demands made on the patriotism and benevolence of individuals. The amount received was $4,073 12; including in this sum various contributions made during the past four or five months in response to the call for advance payments, amounting in all to about eight hundred and fifty dollars. We cordially thank our friends, at home and abroad, for the efficient aid they have given us. They have supplied us with oil, and we will try to keep our "lamps trimmed and burning."

We also thank our friends for numerous letters of encouragement and sympathy. They were not intended for publication, but we take the liberty to give extracts from a few of them:

An extract of a letter from our ever-faithful and dear friend, Samuel J. May, will be read with pleasure:

"Syracuse (N. Y.), Jan. 18, 1862.

"There are not a few who seem to think that we Abolitionists proper have done our work; that the loyal States have been, or will be, compelled to complete what we began; that the stress of circumstances will do for the enslaved what we have been laboring more than thirty years to effect. Little do such persons comprehend the nature and extent of our undertaking. The breaking of their chains, their delivery from slavery, is but a small part of what is to be done for four million of people who have been all their lives, and whose parents, grand-parents and progenitors for many generations were subjected to the deteriorating influences of the worst kinds of oppression and bondage. When they shall be set free, much, very much must needs be done to protect, to guide them, and to help them to become what, as the children of our Heavenly Father, we know they are capable of being.

"It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to keep up our organization, to maintain unimpaired our moral instrumentalities; that when the enslaved in our country shall be given up to themselves and the care of their friends, we may be in readiness to render them all the services they may need."

The following words of "lofty cheer" came to reassure our faith and our purpose, and were very welcome:

"——, Jan. 20, 1862.

"Respected Ladies: Having been honored with your invitation to attend a pleasant meeting on the evening of the 22d, at which I cannot be present, I am moved to say a few words from a heart thankful to the noble band of women, who have so zealously and so unselfishly labored for a downcast race for many years, as to have drawn upon themselves respect from the world.

"As I read over your names in the newspaper, and found there *thirty-four*, I wondered if you had designed it purposely as representing the thirty-four States, *once in Union*, according to the Constitution. I see by the names on your invitation, you have added one more; so I suppose you were not willing each to be a representative of a State.

"Probably no one desired to personate South Carolina, or Alabama, or Mississippi.

"As I have sat in my office, revolving over the events of the last year, and have asked, 'What is to be done?' I could find no answer to the question. I was rejoiced to 'ring out the Old Year, and ring in the New,' for I feel certain that ere another year shall come, you, ladies, will have seen the sure reward of your endeavors. It shall come! Aye, that for which you have prayed and labored so long—the freedom of millions—shall come! Many of you have seen pass away the companions who stood by you while on earth. Their spirits have ascended to a higher sphere, but they are permitted to see this day from their blest abode. They hover about you on this Anniversary. As, one by one, you shall rise to meet these glorified spirits, you with them shall look down on emancipated America! And as these millions of the freed shall also go up, together you will sing praise to the good God, the Father of all, while you hear the voice of His dear Son, saying, 'Inasmuch as you did it unto these, my brethren, ye did it unto me.'

"What is to be done? Much is to be done! The true glory of America is just dawning. The black cloud is receding, and the morning light is breaking on us. When four million men, women and children have passed through the Red Sea, and are made free, what shall be done for them? Then our country is to prove how great it can be. Then will open a mission such as no former philanthropist has witnessed, as our daughters, sisters and mothers shall take the poor trodden-down ones, to teach them that they are human beings. All these millions must be educated. Yes, they have to sit on the primary benches, as our little ones now do, that they may learn to read! Save up your cast-off school books of all kinds, ye families of the land! Let depots be established to which they may be sent, to be distributed to the ignorant. There will be missionary ground for all who will work.

"Will you not inaugurate such a mission? So, hereafter, shall America and the whole world bless you, as they see that our country has fulfilled its destiny, and has truly become the asylum of the oppressed, 'the land of the free.'

"With sincere respect, ——."

The following, from Judge Gale of Montreal, cannot be abridged, and is given entire:

Mrs. L. Maria Child—*My Dear Madam:* I have faith in the principles of freedom and in the effects of righteousness. He must be indeed devoid of feeling who is not sensible of the influence of an association of women moved by no other motives than love of their fellow-creatures. May their memories live forever!

With every wish to be present at your Anniversary, my health constrains me to content myself with sending my contribution.

Since my last slight tribute, civil war has broken out, and the government of the United States appears wrongfully averse to banish slavery from amongst them. I had once hoped that I might live to see slavery and polygamy (otherwise called Mormonism), now exiled from every other Christian country, no longer prevailing in the United States; but that hope, like others, seems now becoming more distant.

I have now to trouble you once again, to add to the funds of the Anti-Slavery Society the amount of the enclosed draft, drawn by the Bank of Montreal on the Merchants' Bank of Boston for one hundred dollars, which I have endorsed in your favor.

I remain, with the sincerest respect and best wishes,
Your Obedient Servant, Samuel Gale.

From Western New Nork come to us these instructive and warning words:

"To our best vision, the Abolitionist must direct and guide this struggle, that it may bring the most valued results to *all*, with the least possible shedding of precious blood. And to preserve our hearthstones and altars, to redeem the outraged and long-suffering slave, to conserve the spirit and genius of *truly free* institutions, we must uproot, at once and *forever*, the poisonous tree that has cast its baleful shadow over us, and dropped its 'apples of discord' in our midst. To avert anarchy, and, in the event of the success of this rebellion, to prevent the establishment of a despotism for white and black in the rebellious States, we are warned by the most discerning, that government should *now* enact Emancipation as the only salvation and the only justice. I pray you, let us continue to exalt our glorious standard and hold up our beacon-lights, that our rulers may see the right path and guide the nation therein, to safety, righteousness and honor. Let us not falter, then, but strive to direct the moral power, the governmental policy, the military force, and the pecuniary resources of our beloved country to this accomplishment, to

> 'Convert the men who waver now, and pause
> Between their love of self and human kind.'"

The following is from Edward Harris, Esq., of Rhode Island:

Woonsocket, Jan 15, 1862.

Ladies: I thank you for your kind invitation to be present at the Subscription Anniversary, on the evening of the 22d instant. It gives me great satisfaction to see so many good names attached to this greatest of good causes—"Human Rights." It would, I assure you, give me much pleasure to be with you on that occasion, but circumstances beyond my control prevent. It makes me feel sad to see so many of the pioneers of humanity drop away, one after another, before the consummation of their wishes can be realized; but I am hopeful when I see your names in the work. . . . There is need yet to work, work, and work on.

I remain, yours, against all oppression,
Edward Harris.

A lady in New Hampshire, long a true hearted friend of the cause, thus writes:

"How deplorable it will be, if this nation shall fail to perform the simple act of justice, to acknowledge and protect the colored man as born to the same inalienable rights as ourselves? Since slavery is the acknowledged cause of our national trouble, and its poisonous and corrupting power is now so palpable that it cannot be denied, even by those who thought the Union proof against all storms, what will be the measure and weight of our guilt, if now this government refuses to let the people go? For our warning and instruction, we have not only the history of the ancient Egyptians, but of God's 'ancient covenant people,' the Jews, who crucified his Son. Of him the Egyptians had no knowledge; but *we* accept him as our Redeemer; we hang all our hopes of salvation on Him; and if we persist in treading down the poor and needy, and refuse to set at liberty them that are bound, ours will be the double guilt of re-crucifying Him, in the midst of all the light and civilization of the nineteenth century, as He is presented to us in the person of the down-trodden and despised; and He tells us it will be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah than for such. We will hope and pray that this may not be; that the anti-slavery friends will continue to press on, urge the claims of Truth and Right, notwithstanding the want of right action in the government. If government fails in its duty to liberate the enslaved and protect the weak, Infinite Wisdom is rich in resources to crush or remove the wrong, and in some other way to crown your labors with success."

The excellent letter received from the Rev. Edwin Chapman of Bristol, England, is one for which he has our sincerest thanks. We give the following extract:

Bristol, Nov. 27, 1861.

Dear Madam: In reply to your circular, I have the pleasure of enclosing a check for five pounds, the sum which, for some years past, I have had the honor of paying in aid of your great enterprise, the emancipation of the slave—through our dear friend Mrs. Follen first, lately through the Bristol and Clifton Anti-Slavery Association. I am not sorry, however, to come into direct communication with you and our other friends, whose names are so familiar to me. * *

Every day I anxiously wonder what events are passing in the States—what for freedom, what against? How near does the deliverance of the oppressed and down-trodden approach? Is the battle for the enslaved to be now fought out to the end, by the force of circumstances and the growing perception of the people of the North that secession is the genuine fruit of the cankered tree of slavery? Or, is it to be put off for an indeterminate period by compromise, to which the last number of The Anti-Slavery Standard which has reached me seems to point as a not unlikely or undesired policy of your government, hampered alike by its platform and by the mixed feelings of your people with regard to emancipation? My hope is, that Lincoln and his Cabinet may be driven from their ultimately untenable position, midway between freedom and slavery, by a perception of the impossibility of concluding a stable peace with the Southern States—separated or reunited—while the cruel and unholy institution separates them in heart and soul from all other civilized peoples.

God grant that Garrison, W. Phillips, and all the noble band who have so long striven to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free, may be spared to see the end of their glorious and bloodless warfare, and the triumph of their righteous cause, even though it come through less pure hands than theirs, and in ways which bring grief, distress, almost despair, into so many homes.

Pray excuse the length at which I have written, and believe me, Very sincerely yours,
Edwin Chapman.

Mrs. L. M. Child, A. S. Office, Boston, U. S.

To the several Anti-Slavery families and friends in Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Weymouth, Hingham, Plymouth, Kingston, Lynn, Lexington, Concord, Salem, Newburyport, and Leicester, in this State, and Brooklyn, Connecticut, whose liberal care enabled us to spread the tables whereby the hospitalities of the Cause might be extended to its friends, and especially to those from a distance, our grateful acknowledgments, for the Cause's sake, are rendered. They will not desire a more particular recognition.

Messrs. Yerrinton and Garrison will please accept our thanks for their contribution of valuable printing.

To Mr. Jones, Superintendent of the Music Hall, and to his assistants, our thanks are due and are given for their efficient and gratuitous aid in our preparations, and during the evening of the meeting.

To Mr. Joshua B. Smith and his corps of experienced men, who took the entire charge of the tables, spread with the free donations of the friends of the Cause, and who gave us their time and indispensable services without charge, out of their regard for the great Cause which we are all laboring to serve, we feel that especial thanks are due, and we beg them to believe that their labor of love is highly appreciated by us.

To Mr. Levi Whitcomb, who for many years has rendered us valuable and gratuitous services, as door-keeper, we unitedly offer our sincere thanks.

And to the friends of Emancipation and of Freedom everywhere, we offer the assurance of our warmest sympathies and the pledge of our continued labors.

For the Ladies' Anti-Slavery Committee,
L. Maria Child.

SUBSCRIPTION LIST

Of the Twenty-eighth National Anti-Slavery Subscription Anniversary.

Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman,	$200 00
Miss Mary G. Chapman,	50 00
Miss Anne Warren Weston,	20 00
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Mr. and Mrs. William Sparrell,	5 00
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Wm. L. Garrison, Jr., Lynn,	5 00
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Mrs. Lucretia Reed, "	5 00
Mrs. S. E. B. Channing,	3 00
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Rev. Edwin Thompson,	1 00
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Miss Anne E. Morrill,	1 00
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H. Wellington, Roxbury,	5 00
Cornelius Wellington,	5 00
W. P. Atkinson, Esq., Cambridge,	10 00
John H. Stephenson, Esq.,	10 00
C. H. Codman, Esq.,	5 00
Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Southwick,	5 00
Judith Hathaway,	1 00
Two Friends,	10 00
Miss Crane,	1 00
Amicus,	2 00
Mr. and Mrs. Sylvanus Smith,	2 00
Dr. W. S. Brown,	3 00
Samuel Barrett, Concord,	10 00
Mrs. Anna D. Hallowell, Medford,	2 00
Isaac H. Marshall, Hampstead, N. H.,	2 50
John Wilson, Jr.,	2 00
J. J. Locke,	1 00
John E. Robinson, Rochester, N. Y.,	3 00
Sarah L. Willis, " "	5 00
Mary H. Hallowell, " "	1 00
Mary S. Anthony, " "	3 00
Susan B. Anthony, " "	2 00
James Campbell, " "	1 00
Sarah D. Fish, " "	1 00
Mary B. F. Curtis, " "	5 00
Ann Pound, " "	50
Elizabeth Smith, " "	1 00
A Friend, " "	50
C. A. F. and G. B. Stebbins, Rochester, N. Y.,	2 00
Charles T. Beach, East Otto, "	10 00
Mrs. Mary H. Devine, Genoa, "	1 00
Slocum Howland, Sherwoods, "	3 00
Miss Emily Howland, " "	5 00
Isaac Jacobs, King's Ferry, "	1 00
Matthias Hutchinson, " "	1 00
James A. Burr, Ludlowville, "	5 00
F. D. Ormsby, " "	1 00
Mrs. M. K. Hubbard " "	1 00
Benjamin Joy, " "	50
Nelson Parsons, " "	50
Mr. and Mrs. H. B. Lord, " "	1 50
Rev. J. W. Pratt, " "	25
Mrs. S. R. Howland, Union Springs, "	1 00
Mrs. Sophia Hoskins, " " "	1 00
Griffith M. Cooper, Williamson, N. Y.,	1 00
Mrs. James G. Birney,	2 00
Mrs. Judge Cleveland, Coventry Falls, Vt.,	1 00
Charlotte L. Hill, West Gouldsboro, Me.,	1 00
Mrs. Ann F. Greeley, Ellsworth, Me.,	1 00
Mrs. Alice B. Baxter, Jonesville, Mich.,	1 00
Friends in Brooklyn, Ct., by Mrs. Whitcomb,	5 00
Mrs. J. M. Hall, West Killingly, Ct.,	5 00
Mrs. Morrill, Concord, N. H.,	5 00
T. B. Drew, Kingston,	5 00
Miss Adeline Whiton, Hingham,	2 00
Moses and Hannah Sawyer, Weare, N. H.,	3 00
Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Merrill, Danversport,	2 00
Maria S. Page, Danversport,	1 00
E. F. Burgham, So. Danvers,	4 00
E. G. Lucas,	5 00
Moses Wright, Georgetown,	1 00
George W. Stevens,	3 00
Mrs. Lucinda Jameson,	1 00
Philip A. Chase,	5 00
P. Wicksell,	3 00
C. H. Estabrook,	1 00
Dr. M. E. Zakrzewska,	1 00
M. J. Zakrzewska,	1 00
Mrs. J. M. Bacon,	1 00
Josephine Bacon,	1 00
M. A. Bacon,	1 00
Mrs. B. F. Danforth,	5 00
Jonathan Buffum, Lynn,	2 00
Thomas B. Rice,	2 00
Robert Adams, Fall River,	5 00
Benjamin Chase, Auburn, N. H.,	2 00
Mrs. Clarissa G. Olds, Hampton, N. H.,	3 00
Mrs. William Tuttle, Salem,	2 00
Mrs. Sarah Hayward, "	2 00
Josiah Hayward, Esq., "	2 00
Josiah Hayward, Jr.,	1 00
Robert R. Crosby,	2 00
Augustus Haskell,	1 00
John Winslow,	2 00
Mrs. H. S. Denham,	1 00

THE STANDARD.

THE SAILOR BOY

BY ALFRED TENNYSON.

He rose at dawn, and flushed with hope,
Shot o'er the seething harbor bar,
And reached the ship and caught the rope,
And whistled to the morning star.

And while on deck he whistled, loud
He heard a fierce mermaiden cry,
"Boy, though thou art young and proud,
I see the place where thou wilt lie.

"The sands and yeasty surges mix
In caves about the dreary bay;
And on thy ribs the limpet sticks,
And on thy heart the scrawl shall play."

"Fool!" he answered, "Death is sure
To those that stay and those that roam;
But I will never more endure
To sit with empty hands at home.

"My mother clings about my neck,
My sisters clamor 'Stay, for shame!'
My father raves of death and wreck—
They are all to blame, they are all to blame.

"God help me! save I take my part
Of danger on the roaring sea,
A devil rises in my heart,
Far worse than any death to me."

—*Victoria Regia.*

Our European Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM HARRIET MARTINEAU. LXII.

JANUARY 20, 1862.

[Original Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: It was welcome news last week that there is to be no war on the Slidell and Mason case. One does not expect that bright news should ever be without some shadow; and one should not, therefore, too much regret the admixture of evil with the good in this case, as in others. It is a blessing to be very thankful for that your government has done what is right without dispute. The next greatest blessing is, that the people have made no opposition to the decision of the government—thus showing the enemies of free institutions the mistake they committed in supposing that the Administration would be overawed or constrained by "the mob." It has been a hearty satisfaction to many of us that so many evil anticipations have been discredited by the event—such as the notion of a government plot to divert the war, or a scheme of invading Canada—apprehensions of the people refusing to deliver up Capt. Wilkes's prisoners, etc. On the other hand, there are some unhappy incidents involved which destroy all sense of security in regard to peace, and impede that reflux of English good feeling towards the North which had been supposed a necessary consequence of a satisfactory atonement for Capt. Wilkes's outrage.

Mr. Seward's strange dispatch is full of mischief. We have been in the habit of admiring the State papers issued from Washington; but here is one which is a sad disgrace. It must come into discussion soon, and the best hope is that American lawyers will be prepared by a thorough study of it to speak wisely upon it, and prevent the evil consequences which it must produce if not honestly dealt with. One does not need to be a lawyer to see that it is untenable, because it proceeds on diverse and incompatible grounds. It plays fast and loose with the main point of the recent case—in one part assuming Slidell and Mason to be rebels, and in others belligerents. While the public here find it difficult to account for such a production from any Minister of State, some of us keenly feel the insult to the Americans inflicted by that dispatch. It is inconceivable that Mr. Seward can have believed that England or France could be cajoled by it; and the only supposition is that he hoped to please his own countrymen. According to some American newspapers Mr. Seward's course is guided by his ambition for the Presidentship. If so, certainly nobody else has so insulted the people of the United States. If he can imagine that he is winning their favor by writing State papers which are either dishonest or silly, he is satirizing the people more bitterly than any bystander has ever done. Of the spirit and temper of angry newspapers I need not speak. They condemn themselves sufficiently.

Neither shall I say much of the discontent with myself, which I observe in the letter of S. M., and elsewhere, in the THE STANDARD. I do not wish to occupy your space with defence of myself; and every practical purpose will be answered by a brief explanation of my point of view. My course has always been—to fight your battles on this side the water, to the utmost extent that truth will allow; and to speak the plain truth on the other side on all matters which relate to the principle and conduct of the cause of human freedom. This is not the way to gain popularity. It is the way to ensure much displeasure on both sides; but that is a small matter in comparison with the least good that may be done in either country. I certainly think that it is the course most conducive to peace and a clear understanding between the two nations. I shall go on, as long as I live, with the part of the work which lies here. As for the other half, it rests with you, as you are aware, whether I continue it. You know that I wait upon your pleasure in regard to corresponding with THE STANDARD, as I have always done. A word from you, at any time, will bring my farewell, as I have repeatedly reminded you and the Committee.

It can hardly be necessary to say much about the unfortunate series of mistakes to which the recent painful feelings on your side the water have been owing; for time must already have made them manifest. To indicate them will probably suffice. If we were to go back to the outset, we must notice first the flagrant error, common to North and South, and singularly insulting to England and France—that the policy of the European powers would be determined by their need or greed of cotton. There never was any warrant for this assumption, and there has never been any evidence to confirm it. Mr. Adams came over with his mind full of it (as appears by his published dispatches), and his son went to Manchester to assure himself of it. We see Mr. Adams the elder assuring Mr. Seward, after some weeks' residence, that he is unable to perceive that England has any idea of recognizing the South, while Mr. Adams the younger is astonished at finding that, in Manchester itself, the view of the American case is not affected by considerations of cotton. To the South this rash and injurious assumption has been most disastrous; and the Confederates now see us diligently growing cotton in half a hundred places (literally more than that), and so providing for a supply that we shall never more, under any circumstances, be dependent on American cotton culture. I mention this now for two reasons: that the mistake may be pointed out which has done incalculable mischief for months past; and that Northern men may take warning from the South, and not fall into the same mistake about corn, or any other commodity. We constantly see in American newspapers that England cannot go to war with the United States, because she cannot dispense with these commodities. This is a grave mistake. If we had been so dependent at all it would have been for cotton; and we have braved that inconvenience—employing all the influence of England, as I have already told you, to prevent France and Spain breaking the blockade. Our free trade policy gives us the command of all commodities that are raised anywhere; and we can get any amount of grain from Russia, and the Danube, and various other regions by paying a shilling, or two shillings, per quarter more for it, while the rapid improvement in our tillage brings us nearer every year to an adequate home supply. The loss and inconvenience of a stoppage of trade with America would be very serious; but there is no sort of vital dependence in the case. No voice was heard, from any quarter of the empire, in deprecation of war on this ground, on the recent occasion; and it will be a fatal error to imagine, hereafter, that England will endure insult and injury because she cannot or will not go to war. She would suffer to any extremity sooner than submit further than a principled forbearance justifies; but in fact, no such extremity is within the horizon. She can command the resources of the world, if any one province of it should refuse intercourse with her.

This reminds us of the opposite mistake—altogether incompatible with the above, though I have seen them side by side in the same newspaper. The charge that England wants to pick a quarrel—is bent on war with America—has even appeared in comments on the case of the Trent; so that it really appears as if the writers forgot that, in this case, England is the injured party. If one man unexpectedly knocks another down, is he, when called to account, to accuse his victim of wanting to pick a quarrel? Not a word more can now be needed on this mistake—prevalent as it was when you issued the last STANDARD that has arrived here. The case is, no doubt, better understood now, and I need only say, in reference to the letter of S. M., that I certainly do consider the conduct of our government faultless in this affair. Calm, courteous, clear and brief in purpose and speech, moderate in temper, and unoffending in manner, the ministers have been approved, as far as is known, by everybody in England and out of it. I wish the entire nation had been like its government—and I believe that nearly all have been so in the main—but there are two disgraces on this side which give us much concern. The one is the course pursued by *The Times* newspaper, and some which follow in its track; and the other is the mischievous and delusive procedure of the peace party—or of some very few of its members. They can do no harm here, where their shallowness is guaged very accurately; but they create a false impression abroad, as they did when they misled the ignorant Czar Nicholas into the war which has impoverished his empire. That we have no objection to arbitration in cases which come under certain conditions, our government and people have clearly shown, and repeatedly shown. But the recent case was one in which arbitration was altogether inapplicable; and any proposal of it was ignorant on this side, and could be only misleading on the other. The law was clear and unquestionable; and national honor is not a subject for arbitration. Still worse is the spirit and whole course of *The Times*, emulating as it does the rabid newspapers which respectable Americans disclaim as any expression of their minds and feelings. We, in the same way, disclaim *The Times*, which misleads, I fear, a great multitude, but pleases only a small class which supposes itself more important than it is.

Among the mistakes doubtless cleared up ere this are some which I find in THE STANDARD as well as elsewhere. You will have remembered, before this time, that England is in no way answerable for your late peril. She did not make the occasion, nor choose the time for a quarrel. You will have found that the matter in question was, as Mr. Webb said, our Right of Asylum, or of Hospitality. It is on this ground that Capt. Wilkes's offence was against every other people, as well as the British. He infringed the right of free entrance and passage under the English flag, which is a right in possession of all nations. Messrs. Slidell and Mason were, as a matter of fact, private individuals to whom a passage could on no ground be refused (a fact which invalidates Mr. Gerrit Smith's letter, which I see in *The Liberator*). If they were rebels, or if they were belligerents, they could not legally have been taken, but to us they were private individuals, coming from no known government, civilians, and passing from one neutral port to another. No commander could have refused them a passage; and no government could refuse to protect them from violence when once passengers. In this connection have occurred the mistakes of S. M. and others, in supposing that the recent case was of the same class as those in which England showed herself overbearing in old days (I may mention that English captains have *not* fired shotted guns to bring-to unarmed ships). It would have been well for Americans to remember that England has risked the wrath of both the Napoleons, and twice dared the danger of invasion by France rather than permit the smallest encroachment on her right of hospitality. After the Orsini conspiracy, the threats and wrath of certain French colonels and Paris newspapers were as violent as anything we have heard from America. As for the notions that Ireland is discontented, and that the Canadians are disposed for a union with your republic—no words can now be needed to show that they are mere hallucinations. The spirit of Canada has had occasion to show itself; and the general prosperity and contentedness of Ireland are shown by its rapidly-improving industry, and the remarkable dimunition both of crime and of pauperism. We rank the nonsense we read about both countries with the assurances of "undying hate," "future revenge," etc., menaced by some of your journalists, who seem to forget that England was forced by a rash American to demand reparation for an injury. Such ravings do not stand in the list of genuine mistakes.

But how melancholy are those mistakes! Nowhere else could popular error be of so much consequence, because nowhere else do the people bear the responsibility of rule. Rights carry their corresponding duties everywhere, and a people who have the right of self-government are bound to be above such vital mistakes as those which have marked this last passage in your history. While they do not inform themselves sufficiently to avoid such faults and embarrassments, they have no right to quarrel with the impression widely entertained in Europe that democratic governments are not qualified for permanent international relations. Practically speaking, the events of the last two months have done more, I believe, to discredit republican government than anything that the advocates of despotism are able to do or say. The more thankful may we be that your government unbesitatingly did its duty by us; and that the American people have acquiesced; not only abstaining from all resistance, but generally approving the decision. They have thus effectually put their enemies in the wrong.

As to the probable effect on the anti-slavery cause—there has never been any fear that an alliance with the Confederates must inevitably ensue from Capt. Wilkes's act. He forced us to be the protectors and champions of four Southern gentlemen whose names would otherwise have never been heard of by 99 out of 100 Englishmen; but this is altogether a different matter from sympathizing with a slaveholding society. There is no doubt of the disinclination of our government, and the nation generally to recognize the Confederates; but the recent levity and passion of the North have given new power to a clique which may soon prove to be stronger, in Parliament and in the Clubs, than they would otherwise have ever been. It is supposed that this clique will urge a recognition of the South on condition of the entire cessation of the slave trade—of the emancipation of all American slaves—and of a treaty of free trade. They urge that this will free the negroes sooner than any other method—as the North seems clearly incapable of compassing her own objects. How far it is true that there is such a clique, and that it meditates such proposals, we shall see when Parliament meets. I need not say that we shall not easily believe in the terms of the compact.

Meantime, there can be no doubt of the daily increasing difficulty of maintaining here the ground of the North. It appears to the experienced old communities of Europe that the Federalists are unaware of the desperate character of their position and prospects. The lapse into national insolvency, which we hear of by the last mails, the division of counsels among the authorities, military and civil, and the absence of all effectual achievement amidst so vast an expenditure of all kinds, seem very fearful. But far worse than all is the feature which most disheartens those who are most friendly—the barbaric character of the warfare. This strikes us dumb, however incessant our advocacy may otherwise be. That the destruction of harbors will bring down all the maritime powers upon the government which perpetrates it seems to be a matter of course. I do trust it may yet be time to stop this insufferable act. We are glad to read of a deep channel left open at Charleston; and this, if true, will save the city; but the injury to people at sea remains. Taking a view of the whole field, it is manifestly impossible to ignore forever, or for very long, a seceding community which its former or proper government cannot bring into reunion; and, in the present case, the testing period is much shortened by the low character of the Northern military policy. That policy relies (as probably the South does, too) on damaging and annoying, rather than on conduct and valor in the field; and in Europe there is no sympathy for such a policy. Among military nations, warfare respects men and property more and more, and inflicts no injury which is not essential to a valorous stand-up fight. Unless the North can effect its aims speedily, and by genuine and high-spirited warfare, it will be impossible for its friends in Europe to uphold it.

Dark as the future is, there is, for Abolitionists, the bright conviction that the aim of their labors is near its fulfilment. The one thing that seems certain is that slavery can in no case be maintained. That you will witness emancipation, in one way or another, I cannot dohbt. That you may see it accomplished in safety, order, and peace is the hearty hope, I am sure, of all who know what the Northern Abolitionists have done and suffered in the cause. H. M.

[Although, for reasons heretofore given, we do not deem it best to print Mrs. Martineau's previous letter entire, we have concluded to give place to the concluding portion thereof, as follows.—*Editor.*]

The President's absurd proposal to remove the four million of negroes to some new territory shows that your time has come. The champions of the enslaved must be supposed ready with a scheme of emancipation; and the rest of society will be only too glad to be led. It is not to be supposed that, after a quarter of a century of subservience to the Slave Power, the sinning portion of Northern society can become in an hour such true patriots as the occasion requires; but, if the PEOPLE on whom we are bidden to rely are trustworthy, you have the very opportunity you have prayed for so long, and may now lead the way to deliverance. I am glad to see that our *Daily News* yesterday (Saturday, Dec. 28th) pronounced for a policy of Emancipation as the only possible good issue from your troubles. I trust the same truth will soon become evident to your countrymen throughout the free States. Any other proposal can lead only to disaster. The prospect is grave enough at best, from the singular helplessness in military matters which is fast bringing you to national bankruptcy, and has impaired the prestige of the nation almost past retrieval. Nobody can now suppose any reunion under the old Constitution possible; nor any permanent subjugation of the South. The one chance seems to be the offer of a policy of emancipation, by which the permanent cause of quarrel will be got rid of—the slaveholders put in the way of a more profitable tillage of their lands than they have ever yet tried; and their laboring class rendered safe neighbors for them for the future. There are, no doubt, plenty of difficulties in the way, and an arduous task is in store in organizing the new method of industry; but difficulty must be met when there is no alternative but impossibility. Unless this is done, it is plain that there will be, not two parties to the national break up, but three or four; or, in other words, total wreck. It will not mend the matter to plunge into a foreign war; for the South will be incalculably strengthened by it, however anxious we may be to avoid all alliance with the Confederates; and if, as some of your sagacious countrymen intimate, a foreign war should unite your two sections, all will be over for the negroes for this time. They will be the sacrifice; and we do not believe you Abolitionists will permit that. This memorable year in your history is closing very darkly for you. It has been a year of noble interest on your part, vast sacrifices, high hope, and exulting confidence; and it closes with nothing left but the unaccomplished enterprise. That enterprise is a great blessing; and so is the clear indication of the right way to pursue it; but not the less heavy is the pain of bereavement, disappointment, and mortification; and not the less dreary the prospect of further strife among yourselves, insupportable debt, and the continued desperate hatred between the two sections. The slaves will be freed, evidently; and may this be the blessing of the coming year! If ever men deserved the blessing of release from a national curse it is the American Abolitionists.

For us the year ends darkly under a new grief. Our Queen is a widow, as you know; and we have lost the man in the whole empire who could least be spared. It would take many pages to convey to you what he was, and why Prince Albert is so great a loss to every family in the country. The whole country feels that it is so; and it will feel it yet more when the first absorbing sympathy with the Queen becomes moderated. Of loneliness like hers no widowhood in private life affords any likeness. She had his entire devotedness, as other happy wives have; but she has no such close and equal friendships as may soften the bereavement to other widows. Whatever comfort she can derive from the mourning sympathy and devoted attachment of her whole people, she has. We trust, too, that she will yet have many happy days among her children and grandchildren. You will have seen how she at once turned to Duty for support and motive. It is like her; and worthy of him whom she has lost.

I see a strange proposal offered in Congress to feed the starving Irish! There is no famine in Ireland. There is plenty of food for everybody there; and organizations by which it can be distributed where wanted. The notion has no doubt arisen from the ravings of fanatical and mischief-making priests.

H. M.

A SONG FOR THE TIMES.

You all have heard of old John Brown,
A man he was right up and down,
Who, when he saw a thing was true,
Went straight to work to put it through.
Put it through.

He took good care to count the cost,
How much there might be gained or lost,
And found, he said, that either way
The plan he had was sure to pay,
Sure to pay.

The wise ones called John Brown a fool
Because he kept the Golden Rule:
What he wished you for him to do,
He was at hand to do for you,
Do for you.

What had men make to pass for law
With old John Brown weighed not a straw,
And though enforced with all their might,
Shook not his faith that Right is right,
Right is right.

It worked like madness in his brain
To see his brother drag a chain,
And, let who would forbid or scoff,
Straight goes John Brown to strike it off,
Strike it off.

The slaves are black, but none the less
His soul was moved by their distress;
He never stopped to mind the skin,
He only saw the soul within,
The soul within;

Saw all their wrongs and all their shame,
Felt for the bound as bound with them;
Far better he were in his grave
Than live and never help the slave,
Help the slave.

To stay his hand, to shut his mouth,
They seized and hung him in the South;
His mouth is hushed, his hand is still,
But old John Brown they could not kill,
Could not kill.

For now the soul of old John Brown
From North and West comes marching down,
With wild hurrahs and roll of drums
And roar of cannon lo, it comes!
Lo, it comes!

Oh great soul of old John Brown,
Through all the land go thundering on,
Till all our armies, all our towns
Shall all be full of brave John Browns,
Brave John Browns!

SLAVEHOLDERS AND THE BRITISH ARISTOCRACY.

From The London Quarterly Review

ONE traveller has favored us, in the pages of *Blackwood*, with an account of the South, as he saw it in last September and October, and we have the authority of *The Times* that he is impartial; moreover, he (or a companion) claims to add to his narrative, "Some Account of both Sides of the American War," in which he speaks of both sides, but for one, and that with great tact, sufficient to satisfy those who know little on the subject that he looks at both. We would warn our readers against supposing us to be impartial, as the writer professes to be. We are not; for a cross bias against slavers and slavery runs through our very marrow; and every statement of ours must be sifted as from those who take a side, and would be ashamed not to do so. Stealthily apologizing for slavery; alleging, against Mr. Lincoln and the North, multifarious and in several cases inconsistent, accusations; bringing into view all the virtues of the South, and not one of its vices; showing, as a sample of slavery, negroes laboring with gold watches in their pockets; and, as a specimen of opinion, that the Southerners earnestly desired (what they had got before his paper appeared) a descent on the coast of South Carolina or Florida; and, as one of information, that two Counties in Virginia contained sufficient supplies of animal food for the Southern army for two years—this writer is, nevertheless, useful in several respects. He first shows, as slave-owners always boast, how soon men, when well treated by them, and familiar with their mode of gaining their livelihood, warm to it as being a gentlemanly calling. He does, indeed, admit that there are things about slavery to be abhorred by all Englishmen; but he keeps them far out of view, and paints such as are of an opposite character. He condemns the North, because, during a state of revolution, restraint is put on speaking and writing treason; but not a syllable has he to say on the fact that, in ordinary times, no editor dared to write, no minister to preach, no orator to declaim, in the South, against the dark cause of all the commotion he saw; that even the benevolent might not emancipate, nor the enlightened instruct the victims of his fair and gallant clients, without bringing upon themselves tar and feathers, or mayhap dignified legal punishment; and that every year some peaceful friends of freedom meet with some violent death for their opinions.

He is also useful, as showing at every step, without any intention of doing so, that slavery is the ground of the quarrel; his summary of which he concludes by saying that Lincoln's election secured the triumph of a party "pledged to the destruction of the peculiar institutions and material interests of the South." If this witness be "impartial," which we are far from saying (for he evidently bears Mr. Lincoln and the anti-slavery party, which he calls the triumphant faction, keen dislike), *The Times*, which vouches for it, must cancel some hundreds of columns devoted to proving that anti-slavery feeling had nothing to do with the dispute.

His undisguised testimony to the effectiveness of the blockade is, to us, unexpected: "The blockade has, undoubtedly, been productive of great individual inconvenience. All communication by letter has been cut off. Friends are unable to correspond. Painful instances are met with every day of the anxiety to hear tidings of relations abroad."

His discernment is shown in the following view of the Northern army: "It is much to be doubted whether many of the American soldiers calculated on or desire the invasion of the Southern States." If not Americans, who does? The Irish?—the Germans? Who cried, "On to Richmond"? Who clamored for the speedier sailing of the armada? He calls the occupation of Maryland "quasi-Venitian"; whereas a popular vote in that State, in which more electors took part than in ordinary times, has given a large majority for the Union. If Venitia be permitted by Austria to vote, and will give a similar decision, we, at least, will not reproach Austria for occupying it. It is poor work to spend one's time in noticing such trifles; but it is a work of charity to give some instances of the way in which the cause of the slavers is artfully commended to the people of this country by men who affect candor.

We tell such men they do not know how to serve the British monarchy; they are its worst, though its unconscious foes. Ours is a monarchy eminently graced with love of order, and discouraging rebellion, except when a people oppressed have failed, after patient efforts, to obtain by peaceable means natural rights from unreasonable masters. But these men would commit it to friendship with that rebellion, which, however passion and misrepresentation may now gloss it, is a crime unknown to history, and will take its place in its page as the first recorded, wherein the ruling class in a free country, when by a legal process political authority was voted away from them, rose against the nation; dismembered first, and then attacked it without alleging that one liberty had been curtailed, much less destroyed, or one right endangered, but that of rendering slavery "eternal," and extending it far and wide. The English monarchy is not more the stay of order than the shield of liberty: yet these men would make it the nursing mother of the first conspiracy ever originated, with a view of forming a nation, "the corner-stone" of which, not according to our representation, but according to the words of Alexander Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederate States, and the most eloquent of their orators, "the corner-stone" of which—the "stone rejected by the builders" of the United States—is slavery! They would, moreover, accept for our aristocracy what we take to be the blackest insult ever cast upon it, namely, that the natural allies of the aristocracy of England are the "gentlemen of the South."

Aristocracy of England—gentlemen of the South! It is hard to write the two on the same line. Mr. Bright or Mr. Ernest Jones might be indignant, if accused of saying anything so monstrous; yet men professing not hatred, but respect, for our aristocracy, are found to say it. Two classes more dissimilar, or with traditions and tastes more repugnant, cannot be named in the world. The English aristocracy are, above all men, noted in private life for love of law. The "gentlemen" of the South imitate them in mansions, sports, wine, in free expenditure, and easy manners; but will shoot men in the streets, brutally attack them in the Senate, shake their fists in their faces in Congress, as these eyes have seen them do; egg on and head lawless mobs to murder any suspected disseminator of anti-slavery opinions; and run riot over all law that crosses their passions or checks their notions of propriety. The English aristocracy are a pattern and an admiration to the world for that patriotic sagacity which has led them to sacrifice their cherished prejudices—and, as in the case of the corn-laws, their supposed material interests—rather than break with the nation or push political differences to violent collisions; and they now justly enjoy, and their country, too, enjoys the fruit of this their loyalty, and large-mindedness. The "Southern gentlemen," on the other hand, the moment they find themselves out-voted by their nation, fly to arms, tear down the flag under which they had fought, destroy the government to which they had sworn allegiance, bombard the first officer they find standing by his oath, march upon the Capitol, rush to the shores of its protecting stream, where the arm of a scarcely-awakened people was thrown up spasmodically only in time to arrest, and be desperately wounded in arresting the blow. No; the British aristocracy are no fit allies for men whose passions are their law in private life, whose property is their charter to tear their country to pieces; and they are no fit allies for the English aristocracy who have on their library-tables papers advertising bloodhounds to hunt human beings, who sell the daughters of their own nurses, the sons of their own fathers; who divide child and mother on the auction-block; who live in splendor on the gains of trade—not honest industry, but the meanest trade—trade carried on with unpaid labor.

They have poor faith in the monarchy and aristocracy of England who would shope that any greater lustre would be shed upon them by friendship with a slaveholding community, or by the destruction of the great republic. Our faith in them is on this wise; we believe that were the two best and most prosperous republics possible established—one on the East of us, in France, one on the West, in America—that our own throne, standing in the midst, would, by the natural teaching of events, sensibly gain upon them during every period of ten years—gain not only in the convictions and attachment of the British people, but in the envy of the jealous, in the admiration of the wise, in the other two nations. The British monarchy has everything to gain by the existence of favorable specimens of a republic to compare it with. It received fresh strength from its glorious contrast with the French Republic of 1848, as some foretold that it would do, when men who fancy that they have faith in it were trembling for the consequences. It has also gained immensely by comparison with America, and by Mr. Bright's anxiety to make us look thither for an elysium. The true policy of that peerless throne, and the peerless aristocracy which adorns its approaches, is, to stand by every free nation in trouole, and to frown on every slave-owner and oppressor.

Young English gentlemen who find in the large plantations the nearest approach to the country seats of England, and in the planters' style and manners the best copy of those of our country gentlemen, who are sedulously well treated, and shown, with the easiest air, yet the most artistic combination, all that can please, and kept away from all that can offend, and who leave the slave States without having witnessed one horror—may easily be forgiven for reversing their boyish ideas, and jumping to the opposite extreme. It is like the impression of a virtuous youth visiting a continental city, and seeing nothing to offend him, and much to satisfy him that things are much better at home. But once let a corner of the veil be lifted, then let the discovery go on; and what realities come to view from under that fair exterior! So in the slave States; once the covering is disturbed, horror after horror comes to light—horrors of the market, the field, the bed, the Church, till the stranger either loathes human nature, or sinks down into callous familiarity with accredited abominations.

Natural allies of the English aristocracy! Modest creatures to set up such a claim. Mr. Jefferson Davis, the man whom the South has delighted to honor, ever since his heroic denunciation of "crocodile tears"; whom, while able, it forced on the North as a great officer of State, and when it could do so no longer, elected him to guide its own destinies—this chosen leader of the chivalry of the South, this prophet and high priest of repudiation, is a natural ally of our Palmerstons, Somersets, and Argylls! And Mr. Vice-President Stephens, the historico-philosophical orator, who boasts that "our new government is the first in the history of the world based upon this great physical and moral truth.....that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery—subordination to the superior race—is his natural and moral condition, that this stone which was rejected by the first builders, is become the chief stone of the corner of our new edifice,".....a natural ally of our Russell, Lewis, and Gladstone! Mr. Secretary of State "Bob Toombs," a rough-mouthed reviler of England, whose ambition has been first to "cover the Atlantic with first-class steamers to pull down Great Britain," the deadly foe of "our institution"; and, secondly, to call over the muster-roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill, as the knell of freedom in New England, he is a natural ally!—well, perhaps he is really so of a certain namesake of his, who, if not of our aristocracy, is, unhappily of our government; and, if rumor be right, the best helper Mr. Toombs has had, as writer of the malevolent articles against the free States in our leading journals.

Mr. Yancey, now Southern Commissioner in England, lately a speaker in Fishmongers' Hall, an advocate for renewing the African slave trade, who complained in Congress that the South was prohibited from importing negroes from Africa, while the North was allowed to import jackasses from Malta, is a natural ally for Lord Brougham! and Mr. Mason, the author of the Fugitive Slave law, of Lord Shaftesbury! and the judge who pronounced the Dred Scott decision, and his *confrères*, who, in varied forms of barbarous language, have ruled the negro to be a thing with a soul and body, but without rights, of our Lyndhurst, Chelmsford and Westbury! Gens. Walker and Quitman, the pride of Southern colonial enterprise, are natural allies of Lord Elgin and Sir John Lawrence; and Mr. Brooks, who made war on Charles Sumner in his Senator's chair, and was idolized by the Carolinian chivalry as a great conqueror, is a natural ally of the Duke of Cambridge! And the Right Reverend Father in God, Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana, and General Commanding in the Southern army, is surely a natural, as well as a spiritual, ally of our Archbishop of Canterbury!

No, no, no! The natural allies of the British aristocracy are the British people. And should the labor too effectually expended by *The Times* to deceive these as to the character of the present struggle and the relative motives of South and North lead to a war, and that to more misery in England and France—and this to the latter country joining in the fray to keep her cities from revolution—then, though the people will soonest feel the pinch of want, the ultimate dangers will fall on those who favored the slaveholders' insurrection, and fathered this offence against freedom in the aristocratic sentiment; as if nobility drew closer to traitors who live by cotton-growing, without paying their work-people, than to those who live by cotton-spinning, and pay every man honestly.

As to the resemblance, dear to the pride of the slaveholder, between the mansions of England and those of the planters, we, who are neither owners nor heirs of one of those lordly seats which glisten on the landscapes of our fatherland, like stars on the breast of a king, nevertheless can feel our hearts fire at the insult of such a comparison. Trees and sward, halls and chambers, furniture and appointments, may be made to look somewhat alike; entertainments and manners may be assimilated; but what a difference in all human relations. The one is a home, a free home of free men, where every servant dwells because it suits him, and seeks a happier abode when his hope, his anger or his whim inclines him; and the other is a whited sepulchre, fair on the outer side, but inwardly full of corruption and rottenness. In the one, no man goes to labor but on terms to which he has agreed, and which he can revoke; in the other, men and dogs within doors, men and horses without, stand on the same footing; they are bred for the house, farm, or market, as the case may be; they are trained, petted, and kicked; they are worked and driven, fed, housed, covered; if sick doctored, if idle whipped, and, if it suit the master, sold. In the one, if the master values his servant, he says, "I would not that man should take it into his head to leave me for a hundred pounds"; in the other, "I would not take a thousand dollars for that servant." In the one, if the master is displeased, he says, "I shall give you notice to find another place"; in the other, "I shall sell you down South." In the one, if the servant fears his master, he says, "Sir, I must change"; in the other, he asks himself, "Will he whip me, or put me in irons, or sell me?" In the one, the servant, when the bloodhound bays, thinks only of thieves and robbers; in the other, of the horrors of such a sound behind his own heels should he attempt to flee for freedom. In the one, the servant admires the young master's neat rifle and steady aim, thinking only of game, or perhaps of invaders; in the other, he thinks, "That would soon overtake dis nigger." The English mansion has no lock-up for recusant, no cowhide for lazy, no branding-iron or fetters for runaway men.

THE PROHIBITED SONG.

[We reprint the admirable poem by Whittier, which the Hutchinsons were not allowed to sing on the other side of the Potomac, Gen. Kearney and Gen. Franklin having solemnly declared it to be incendiary, whereupon Gen. McClellan has forbidden them to sing within the lines at all. Our readers will notice that this poem is suggested by a famous hymn of Martin Luther:]

"EIN' FESTE BURG IST UNSER GOTT."

(LUTHER'S HYMN.)

We wait beneath the furnace-blast
The pangs of transformation:
Not painlessly doth God recast
And mold anew the nation.
Hot burns the fire
Where wrongs expire;
Nor spares the hand
That from the land
Uproots the ancient evil.

The hand-breadth cloud the sages feared
Its bloody rain is dropping;
The poison plant the fathers spared
All else is overtopping.
East, West, South, North,
It curses earth;
All justice dies,
And fraud and lies
Live only in its shadow.

What gives the wheat-field blades of steel?
What points the rebel cannon?
What sets the roaring rabble's heel
On the old star-spangled pennon?
What breaks the oath
Of the men of the South?
What whets the knife
For the Union's life?—
Hark to the answer: SLAVERY!

Then waste no blows on lesser foes
In strife unworthy freemen.
God lifts to-day the veil and shows
The features of the demon!
O North and South,
Its victims both,
Can ye not cry,
"Let Slavery die!"
And union find in freedom?

What though the cast-out spirit tear
The nation in his going,
We who have shared the guilt must share
The pang of his o'erthrowing!
Whate'er the loss,
Whate'er the cross,
Shall they complain
Of present pain
Who trust in God's hereafter?

For who that leans on His right arm
Was ever yet forsaken?
What righteous cause can suffer harm
If He its part has taken?
Though wild and loud
And dark the cloud,
Behind its folds
His hand upholds
The calm sky of to-morrow!

Above the maddening cry for blood,
Above the wild war-drumming,
Let Freedom's voice be heard, with good
The evil overcoming.
Give prayer and purse
To stay the Curse
Whose wrong we share,
Whose shame we bear,
Whose end shall gladden Heaven!

In vain the bells of war shall ring
Of triumphs and revenges,
While still is spared the evil thing
That severs and estranges.
But, blest the ear
That yet shall hear
The jubilant bell
That rings the knell
Of Slavery for ever!

Then let the selfish lip be dumb,
And hushed the breath of sighing;
Before the joy of peace must come
The pains of purifying.
God give us grace
Each in his place
To bear his lot,
And, murmuring not,
Endure and wait and labor!

CHEEVER AND LINCOLN.

From Willis's "Lookings-on at the War."

WITH the charm of novelty, as to time and place—the additional relish, that is to say, of "game and season"—I have had, to-day, two *warm* experiences, for mid-winter, at Washington—a summer stroll through the grounds of the Capitol, and the hearing of Cheever's abolition sermon in the House of Representatives. June never had a softer or sunnier day than January twelfth, and a more volcanic outburst of human utterance was probably never listened to, than Cheever's astonishing of those legislative chairs, this Sabbath afternoon! Whether the hearer did, or did not, believe, in the parallel drawn from the text—that Lincoln was "Pharaoh" and Fremont "Moses," rebellion "the Red Sea" and "river of blood," and that abolition would be the "letting God's people go," at the now last command of an angry Jehovah—the persuading thereto was oratorically tremendous.

At the close of the service, the portable melodeon of the "Hutchinsons" was brought into the centre of the Representatives' Hall, and the four famous vocalists broke forth with a qartette of Wendell Phillipsism (an anti-slavery *hymn*) by way of doxology. It was exceedingly well sung—only, a little perplexing to remember, that this musical family had done the same thing for the just denounced "Pharaoh," a few nights before—bringing in their melodeon (as I had innocently been delighted to see them do), and doxologizing, in the very same way, the departing guests of a *levee* at the White House. That the "Egyptian Ruler's" heart is not altogether hardened, however (and therefore still worthy to be sung to), I am happy to bear witness, for, chancing to look around at the conclusion of this latter song, I saw the eyes of our tall "Pharaoh" brimful of tears!

EXAMPLE BEFORE PRECEPT.

FIRST of all, the citizen is bound to exemplify, in himself, the principles and virtues which he wishes to see become universal and supreme in the institutions and usages of the country. This is a direct way to the accomplishment of his end; for the collective country is made up of individual citizens. Its character, conduct, experience and destiny are composed of and determined by them. To fulfil this duty is also the direct way for him to acquire public respect and influence, private integrity and peace. But to fail of doing this is to incur serious censure and odium—to become himself a sour, querulous and pernicious disorganizer. Now, I believe that it will usually be found true of Reformers, that they observe this primal and cardinal obligation. They do incarnate in themselves and observe in their conduct, in an unusual degree, the principles and sentiments and rules which they hold up for the observance of others. It is one of the great, current, fashionable fallacies of the world to charge them with the opposite; because every one whose interests are assailed, whose ease is disturbed, whose complacency is rebuked by their assaults, by their requirements, by the ideal which they set up in superiority to his real—every such one, naturally following the mean impulses of our nature, strives to avoid the point and edge presented to him by some evasion or other; and the most obvious is, to retort and say—"You are guilty of as great a crime in this particular as I am in that"; and in that way undertake to evade the obligation. So that the fashionable criticism of Reformers as "malignant philanthropists," and all that style of invective which is so current and common, is really, as a general law, in my opinion, unfounded and false. So obvious and almost inevitable is the result of rebuke and odium which will come upon the Reformer, if he does not exemplify in himself what he preaches to others, that he will naturally be very careful to exemplify it. Perhaps some of you have read the modern fable—as good as anything in Æsop, I think, although it is new—The Sparrow and the Eagle. One day the sparrow went to the eagle, and said to him, "May it please your royalty, I notice that you fly away with kids and lambs, that never did any harm to anybody. There is no creature in the world so malignant as the cat. She prowls round our nests, eats up our young, and bites off our own heads. She feeds so daintily, she must be good eating herself. She is lighter to carry than a kid, and then you would get a famous grip in her loose fur! Why don't you feed on cat?" "O," replied the eagle, "I had the worm here this morning, who asked me, 'Why don't you feed on sparrow?' Is that a piece of worm's skin I see on your beak, child?" The sparrow cleaned her beak on her feathers, and said, "I should like to see the worm that asked you that question." "Stand forth, worm," said the eagle; when the worm appeared, the sparrow snapped him up, and then went on with his argument against cats (laughter and applause). The application of this fable is obvious. I do no believe that the charges which are so frequently made against Reformers have any foundation, in one case in ten thousand. However, it is well enough for us to bear in mind, that while we are holding up a high standard of duty for others and for the State, we are to be careful to see to it that we come up to it ourselves.—*Rev. W. R. Alger.*

RECOGNITION OF HAYTI.

IT is stated that Mr. Sumner will shortly introduce a bill in the Senate to recognize the independence of Hayti, and establish diplomatic relations with that country. This is in accordance with the recommendation of the President, in his last Message. Mr. Lincoln said: "If any good reason exists why we should persevere longer in withholding our recognition of the independence and sovereignity of Hayti and Liberia, I am unable to discern it." Not only are there no reasons against recognition, but there are very sufficient reasons why we should cultivate the friendship of those nations. We have commercial intercourse, according to the last volume on Commerce and Navigation, published by Congress, with seventy-five States or countries; and in this list Hayti stands the twenty-first, in the comparative importance of our exports thither; while in regard to our imports thence, it stands twenty-fourth on the list. During the year ending June 30th, 1860, our exports to Hayti amounted to $2,673,682, and our imports thence to $2,002,723. Comparison with the statistics regarding other countries shows that, while we export as much to Hayti as to Russia, our imports thence exceed those from Russia by half a million per annum. We export to Hayti a million and a quarter dollars worth more than to Sweden and Norway, more than nineteen times as much as to Japan, more than four times as much as to all the French West Indies. Our imports from Hayti are double those from Turkey, and a hundred-fold more than from the French West Indies.

There is no doubt that it would be easy by a little care and attention to double or quadruple the value of our trade with those people. The Southern